

**SUSTAINABLE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT:
DOES THE EU CONTRIBUTE TO THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
OF TONGA?**

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ABSTRACT

Sustainable development increasingly provides new norms in the international agenda for development assistance. As an international development actor the European Union (EU) integrates this notion into its objectives for development co-operation with African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. This study, therefore, investigates how effectively the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga, member of the Pacific ACP region. An operational mode of sustainable development should adopt an agenda that addresses the needs of the poor and adopts the objective to manage natural resources in a manner that allows economic growth and social development without irreversible impacts on the environment. In the bilateral development co-operation between the EU and Tonga the concept of sustainable development is now firmly established as an overarching objective. This research therefore investigates the correlation between Tonga's agenda for sustainability and the development policy and co-operation the EU provides. In the policy framework that the EU adopts, addresses effectively many of the aspects of Tonga's sustainable development. In the current framework of the tenth European Development Fund (EDF), in particular, the EU adopts appropriate strategies for the management of Tonga's environment that support social and economic development. An analysis of the allocation of funds, however, shows that the promised policy strategies do not result in appropriate action. To contribute more successfully to the sustainable development of Tonga, the EU needs to integrate the development of the country into its own interests. The notion of cosmopolitan moral responsibility and distributive justice offers an incentive for the EU to do so.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	– African, Caribbean and Pacific countries
CFSP	– Common Foreign and Security Policy
CM	– Council of Ministers
CSP	– Country Strategy Paper
DG Development	– Directorate General for Development
EC	– European Community
EDF	– European Development Fund
EEC	– European Economic Community
EEZ	– Exclusive Economic Zone
EP	– European Parliament
EU	– European Union
GDP	– Gross Domestic Product
GNP	– Gross National Product
IR	– International Relations
MDGs	– Millennium Development Goals
NIP	– National indicative Programme
ODA	– Official Development Assistance
PACP	– Pacific Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries
PIF	– Pacific Islands Forum
RIP	– Regional Indicative Programme
RSP	– Regional Strategy Paper
SDP 8	– Tonga Strategic Development Plan Eight
SPREP	– Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme
UN	– United Nations
UNDP	– United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	– United Nations Environment Programme

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INTRODUCTION

-Chapter 1-

1.1 The Subject of Investigation

In the international community the European Union (EU) including its 27 member states has become the largest donor of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA). Fifty-five percent of ODA is received internationally for development assistance from the Union.¹ In the formulation and implementation of its development policy the EU therefore represents an international development actor that is of particular political and academic interest. From the European colonial past a strong relationship of trade and aid relations with African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries has evolved. Since 2000 this relationship has been established under the co-operation framework of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement. This Agreement currently provides the development policy under which the EU operates as a development actor in ACP countries.

Increasingly, the concept of sustainable development provides new measures for international development assistance. A growing number of international agreements incorporate the concept as an attempt to address global issues of increasing poverty, the depletion of natural resources and the ongoing degradation of ecosystems as an effect of ongoing industrialisation. However, the concept of sustainable development lacks an internationally agreed definition and practical guidelines. It remains open to interpretation, which often results in considerable political and academic debate. With the correct agenda, however, sustainable development offers a mode of development that addresses contemporary issues and aims to preserve resources of development for future generations.

In EU development policy for ACP countries, sustainable development increasingly provides new norms for co-operation. The Cotonou Agreement has made relevant steps to integrate

¹ Stephen Dearden and Clara Mira Salama, "The EU ACP Partnership Agreement," *Journal of International Development* 14, no. 6 (2002): 899.

sustainable development into its objectives. Furthermore, it makes provisions for the mainstreaming of cross-cutting themes including environmental issues in development co-operation. The Consensus on Development of 2005 reinforces the objective of sustainability in EU development policy. Additionally, the continuous attempts to mainstream sustainable development and environmental considerations in EU development co-operation strengthen the integration of the concept into EU development policy. It is therefore of interest whether the concept of sustainable development in EU development policy leads to measures for sustainability in EU development co-operation.

1.2 The Research Question

The question that this research investigates is: does EU development co-operation contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga? The focus for investigation is the Pacific region of ACP countries (PACP). Within a regional context, the case study of EU-Tonga development co-operation provides specific data for the effective analysis of EU development efforts. The independent variable in this research is the agenda for sustainable development in the Pacific region and Tonga. The dependent variable is the EU development policy and the resulting co-operation. The analysis of the correlation between the two variables provides new perspectives on how effectively EU development policy assists the sustainable development of Tonga.

The relevance of this research

This research is relevant to several aspects of International Relations (IR) theory and international development efforts. The co-operation between the EU and ACP countries presents a unique relationship. While a significant portion of academic research has focused on the regions of Africa and the Caribbean, the relationship between the EU and PACP has received little attention. This research therefore aims to contribute to the academic understanding of this relationship. The international community has adopted sustainability as an objective for development co-operation that takes into account the growing pressures of environmental degradation and natural resource depletion. Pacific Islands are amongst the countries most vulnerable to the effects of global

climate change. It is evident that Pacific countries have adopted sustainable development as an overarching objective for the development of the region. This study therefore contributes to understanding how effectively development efforts in the region integrate sustainability into co-operation efforts. Furthermore, this study provides an incentive for the EU to effectively contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga. The EU proclaims its expertise in the management of international natural resources and adopts sustainable development as its objectives for development co-operation. This research is therefore relevant in analysing how effectively the Union does so.

1.3 Literature Overview

Sustainable development is surrounded by a continuous political and academic dispute over the definition and implementation of the concept. It is thus established in this research that the successful pursuit of sustainable development requires a concept that is operational. In the international agenda for sustainable development it is evident that academics are attempting to develop a concept that seeks to address current global issues such as international environmental degradation, industrialisation, and growing levels of poverty. Sustainability in development requires co-operation efforts to be future-oriented. Jacobs identifies sustainable development as a contested concept.² Nevertheless, the disagreement over the concept does not necessarily affect it negatively. It signifies the productive battle over the political, economic, social and environmental direction of development.³ It is therefore recognised in this study that as an operational concept with an appropriate agenda, sustainable development provides an adequate mode of development. This mode addresses and integrates political, economic, social and environmental aspects and seeks to sustain achievements for future generations.

This research adopts the belief that the needs of the poor should set the agenda for development efforts and the pursuit of sustainable development. This argument is supported by Adams who states that development policy must not only address poverty but also tackle the problem that

² Michael Jacobs, "Sustainable Development as a Contested Concept," In *Fairness as Futurity: Essays on Environmental Sustainability and Social Justice*, ed. Andrew Dobson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 26

³ *Ibid.*

poverty is as much a cause as an effect of environmental degradation.⁴ He calls for development policy to set natural resources and their use in an economic, social and political context.⁵ The environmental aspects of sustainability in the Pacific and Tonga are therefore the focus of this investigation.

A “mild ecological approach” provides an operational basis and an environmental perspective for the concept of sustainable development that is necessary for the successful analysis of this research. Overton defines this approach as development that allows for economic growth without irreversible damage to the environment. According to the mild ecological approach, sustainable development should therefore involve the careful management of global environmental resources in a fashion that increases productivity and meets basic human needs.⁶ From an environmental perspective, the mild ecological approach therefore presents an adequate agenda for sustainable development. The approach intends to manage natural resources adequately to achieve economic and social development. This mode of development sets an operational for sustainability in development policy and co-operation. It is therefore crucial to assess whether the EU incorporates environmental aspects into development policy.

In this study, the arguments of constructivist and cosmopolitan theories form the basis for analysing EU development policy. Elgström’s study of constructivist theory in EU development policy provides an important foundation for this research. He declares that new norms can lead to the reconstruction of interests and alterations of behaviour.⁷ It is the aim of this study to test this statement by analysing sustainable development as “new norms” in EU development policy. Haas adds to the argument by suggesting that over the last 30 years the protection of ecological integrity has been elevated to a state interest. According to him, sustainable development has become a new doctrine by which states seek to pursue national power and wealth.⁸ In the theories of constructivism, the interests of actors are a central variable of their identities and actions. In

⁴ William M. Adams, *Green Development: Environment and Sustainability in the Third World* (London: Routledge, 1990), 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶ John Overton, “Sustainable Development and the Pacific Islands,” In *Strategies for Sustainable Development: Experiences from the Pacific*, eds. John Overton and Regina Scheyvens, (New York: Zed Books, 1999), 4-9.

⁷ Ole Elgström, “Norm negotiations. The construction of new norms regarding gender and development in EU foreign policy,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 7, no. 3 (2000): 460.

⁸ Peter M. Haas, “When does power listen to truth? A constructivist to the policy process,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 11, no. 4 (2004): 585.

the context of development co-operation, the interests of states play a major role in the making and implementation of development policy. Building on this idea, Hopf believes that where there is no reason for interest, no interest will be found.⁹ Hence, to identify a cosmopolitan incentive for the EU to make the sustainable development of Tonga its own interest.

The incentive that cosmopolitan theory provides is that of global distributive justice and a moral responsibility. Linklater provides evidence for a growing global conscience in the human community.¹⁰ Within this community all human beings present a unit of global concern.¹¹ This argument offers a moral basis for global distributive justice. Moellendorf argues that the international community must seek a system of states and institutions of global distributive justice which allows for the practical implications of sustainable development.¹² A system that is based on universal moral responsibility provides an incentive for the EU to pursue sustainable development in a country as small and distant as Tonga.

1.4 Practical Implications

The practical difficulty that this research encounters is that development policy does not always result in the co-operation that it promises. While the focus of this research is the EU development policy and how it addresses sustainable development in Tonga, the practical implications of EU co-operation need to be taken into account. The EU delivers assistance in the form of development funds. However, Tonga is only a minor recipient compared with other ACP countries. Increasingly, the concept of sustainable development provides new norms for EU development policy. This progress suggests that EU development policy is increasingly targeting the problems of sustainability in the development of ACP countries. Turning policy into practice however, is another side of the story. The allocation of funds is therefore a crucial indication of how effectively EU development policy implements measures for sustainable development.

⁹ Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998): 176.

¹⁰ Andrew Linklater, "Cosmopolitanism," In *Political Theory and the Ecological Challenge*, eds. Andrew Dobson and Robyn Eckersley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 115.

¹¹ Thomas W. Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), 169.

¹² Darrel Moellendorf, *Cosmopolitan Justice* (Cambridge: Westview Press, 2002), 69.

Guiding sub-questions

In order to answer the research question effectively, a number of sub-questions are guiding this research. The questions, which are addressed in detail include: a) what is sustainable development and why should it be pursued; b) what is the Pacific agenda for sustainable development of the region and Tonga; c) what is the EU's role in the sustainable development of Tonga; and d) what is the EU's development policy framework for the region and Tonga? Foremost, it is essential to establish an operational concept of sustainable development and to determine why sustainability should be pursued in development. After doing so it is necessary to relate the concept to the Pacific background. Hence, this sub-question seeks to establish a Pacific agenda for sustainable development. The subsequent question relates to the role the EU has as an international development actor in the sustainable development of Tonga. Consequently, it can be analysed what factors of the Pacific agenda for sustainable development are addressed in the EU development framework for Tonga. This analysis offers the relevant information on whether and how effectively the EU contributes to the sustainable development of the country.

Definition of terms

This research aims to analyse the EU as an international development actor. The EU comprises the Union and its member states that deliver development assistance in form of development funds. The European Directorate General (DG) for Development that is currently under leadership of EU Commissioner Louis Michel, formulates the development policies for ACP countries in order to guide and programme EU donations from the European Development Fund (EDF).¹³ It is this co-operation that the EU delivers to PACP countries including Tonga that is of interest in this study.

The persistent assumption that this research makes is that sustainable development is in the interest of developing countries. While sustainability may not be the most immediate concern for development in Tonga, the assumption is made that sustainable development will benefit present and future generations of all Tongans and mankind. It is therefore in the interest of all parties to

2 Commission of the European Communities, *Development and Relations with African, Caribbean and Pacific States: About DG Development*, 23 March 2007, http://ec.europa.eu/development/AboutGen_en.cfm.

pursue sustainable development. This argument is, thus, supported by the theoretical arguments of this study.

Delimitations

A number of limitations had to be made in this study to allow for a precise analysis. Sustainable development is a multi-dimensional concept that requires adequate policies in the political, economic, social and environmental sectors of development. For the scope of this study the analysis has been limited to the environmental aspect of sustainability. It can not be dismissed that for the successful pursuit of sustainable development, each of the sectors need to be addressed adequately. However, an environmental perspective will provide a number of specific conclusions for the research question. Furthermore, this study focuses on the bilateral relationship between Tonga and the EU. This relationship is only a minimal segment of the development assistance that the EU delivers and does not provide answers for other bilateral relations of EU development assistance. In the development of Tonga a number of other international actors are involved. However, the focus of this study remains purely on the co-operation that is delivered by the EU. These factors limit the study and provide options for further research. On the other hand, these limitations allow for a focused research that provides a number of adequate conclusions.

1.5 Methodology

This study adopts a deductive method of research. It begins by establishing a theoretical framework that is based on the ideas and arguments of constructivism and cosmopolitanism. This theoretical framework provides a basis on which the EU development co-operation in Tonga and the PACP is placed and analysed. The aim of this study is to investigate how sustainable development is becoming a new norm in EU development policy. While it is increasingly evident that the concept of sustainable development is providing a new agenda in the international arena of development assistance, it is not always evident that sustainable development is effectively pursued through development co-operation. It is therefore the aim of this study to investigate whether EU development policy addresses the needs for sustainable development in Tonga and whether the co-operation it delivers contributes to the sustainability in the country. The case

study that is conducted in this research offers the necessary observation of EU co-operation efforts. The analysis of EU co-operation will therefore shed new light on how effectively the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga.

The subjects of this research are the agenda for sustainable development of the Pacific region and Tonga on one side and the development policy that the EU delivers to the country on the other. The correlation between the two is the centre of analysis. The investigation of how effectively EU development policy addresses the requirements for sustainable development in Tonga allows for conclusive results. In this manner, this research is predominantly theoretical. It applies the theories of constructivism and cosmopolitanism to explore the development co-operation between the EU and PACP. Nevertheless, the empirical analysis of fund allocations provides further input to testing the theories of development policy.

A mixture of nomothetic and idiographic approaches are used to answer the research question. The former approach establishes a generalised framework that identifies the relation between the EU and PACP countries. The bases of this framework are provided by the EU-ACP Cotonou Partnership Agreement and the Regional Strategy Paper (RSP) and Indicative Programme (RIP) between 2002 and 2007 for the PACP region. This framework provides development objectives that apply to all PACP countries including Tonga. The idiographic approach, on the other side, is applied to the case study of Tonga in which the bilateral policies between Tonga and the EU are analysed in detail.

A causal approach is targeted specifically at analysing the relationship between the two variables: Tonga's agenda for sustainable development; and EU development policy. It is of interest in this research how EU development policy addresses the Pacific agenda for sustainability. Furthermore, this study provides a longitudinal analysis of EU development co-operation in Tonga between EDF nine from 2002 to 2007 and the current EDF ten between 2008 and 2013. This approach allows analysing any changes in the EU development co-operation for Tonga. This method is necessary to identify whether and how effectively sustainable development is providing new norms in EU development policy.

A combination of primary and secondary sources is used for the purpose of this research. The secondary literature provides the basis of the theoretical framework that this research adopts. Furthermore it establishes a thorough background of the debates surrounding the concept of sustainability and sustainable development in the Pacific Islands region. Primary sources are used to finalise the Pacific agenda for sustainable development and to outline the framework of EU development policy for the PACP and Tonga. Among the most significant sources for establishing an adequate Pacific context are the Suva Declaration, the Action Plan of the Secretariat of the Pacific Environment Programme (SPREP) and Tonga's Strategic Development Plan 8. To outline the development framework for PACP countries by the EU, the Cotonou Agreement and the Consensus on Development 2005 are among the most significant policies.

This research additionally includes the findings of primary research in Fiji in early 2008. Several semi-structured interviews were conducted during a ten-day research period in Suva with regional civil society elites and an anonymous representative of the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF). Three interviews are taken into account in this study. They were conducted through the National Centre for Research on Europe (NCRE) with the representatives of the Pacific Network on Globalisation (PANG) and the Pacific Islands Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (PIANGO) as well as one PIF representative. The series of interviews investigates the EU as a development actor in Fiji. Because the interviewees were regional representatives however a number of the findings can be applied in this research.

In the case study of Tonga a number of additional primary sources are essential. These include the Country Strategy Papers (CSP) and Indicative Programmes (CIP) for Tonga. Every five years these papers are renewed under a new EDF. Due to the longitudinal nature of this research, the CSPs and CIPs of EDF nine between 2002 and 2007 and EDF ten between 2008 and 2013 are analysed. The detailed investigation of the policies provided in these bilateral frameworks as well as the allocation of funds that is outline in the papers allows for new conclusive results. The conclusions provide new information on how effectively the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga.

Relationship to broader subject area

The Pacific regional context that is given in this study allows broadening the conclusions. The more general subject area of this research is how the concept of sustainability provides new norms in the EU development framework for the PACP. The conclusions of the case study can therefore provide new perspectives on how effectively sustainable development is pursued through EU development assistance. Because the case study is placed in a regional context, the results can to a limited extent provide be portrayed onto the PACP region, which attaches greater value to this research.

1.6 Chapter Outline

The following Chapter two provides a detailed literature review and establishes the theoretical framework for this research. It establishes an operational concept of sustainable development that adopts a mild ecological approach and investigates the theories of constructivism and cosmopolitanism. These theories will be applied in the policy analysis in the following chapters. Chapter three establishes a background of the Pacific environment, of social and economic commonalities of Pacific Island countries, and of the common issues these countries face in development. Furthermore, the chapter determines a Pacific agenda for sustainable development within which the case study of Tonga is placed. Chapter four outlines in detail the EU development policy framework for PACP countries and Tonga. The last section of this chapter is the case study of Tonga that analyses theoretically and empirically the bilateral EU co-operation under EDF nine and ten. Chapter five discusses the findings of the case study and outlines the implications of the results to answer the research question. It addresses the sub-questions in separation and draws conclusions that answer how effectively the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

- Chapter 2 -

2.1 Sustainable Development

This chapter investigates in detail the academic debate surrounding the concept of sustainable development. The aim is to provide a review of the academic background in the studies of sustainable development as well as the international relations (IR) theories of constructivism and cosmopolitanism. These core elements of my research have been the topics of a significant number of previous studies. Constructivist IR theory is used in this research to analyse the development co-operation between the EU and the PACP. Cosmopolitanism and its newly emerging field of environmental cosmopolitanism provide a philosophical incentive for the EU to pursue sustainable development in the Pacific. Thus, it is the aim of this chapter to develop a theoretical framework that provides a rationale for analysis in this research.

In order to answer whether the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga, this research needs to establish a number of concepts. Most importantly, the notion of sustainable development has been one of the most controversial concepts in international politics and development theory over the last 20 years. It is therefore recognised that the study of sustainable development requires defining the concept. To establish a basic framework for academic discussion requires the careful selection of specific arguments and theoretical approaches. The 1987 UN report *Our Common Future* (Brundtland, 1987) defined sustainable development for the first time as “development that meets the needs of the present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.¹⁴ Since the introduction of the concept into the realm of international relations 20 years ago, the concept has raised a wide political and academic debate. Today, it remains disputed how sustainable development can be achieved and

¹⁴World Commission on Environment and Development. “Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future.” (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 24.

whether it is a desirable mode of development.¹⁵ This dispute is evident in the literature and previous research in the field frequently mentions the uncertainty over theoretical or practical approaches to sustainable development.

Sustainable development is a multi-dimensional process. It is established internationally that sustainability needs to address the social, economic and environmental aspects of development. Prior to the publication of the Brundtland Report, the subject of sustainability and development had been evident in a number of international agencies. It was taken up by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, in Stockholm in 1972. It was raised in the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) as well as the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources¹⁶ and subsequently, became one of the core concepts of the World Conservation Strategy in 1980. The Strategy has outlined the overall aim of achieving sustainable development through the conservation of living resources, yet it has failed to link economic and social issues to the environmental focus.¹⁷ After the 1987 publication of the Brundtland Report, sustainable development quickly transformed into a key principle of environment and development policy, which was highlighted at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and the declaration of Agenda 21. This event marked the generation of policies particularly targeted at sustainable development that now included social, political, economic and environmental links and was endorsed by over 150 countries of the international community.¹⁸

It is the aim of this study to establish a concept of sustainability that provides an adequate mode of development that is multi-dimensional and future-oriented. The international political arena fails to find a global agreement on how sustainability can be achieved owing to the different interests of those implementing sustainable development.¹⁹ In academia the idea of sustainable development has generated a further quantity of debates. It is discussed by political scientists, economists, philosophers and geographers. The various perspectives indicate that the topic

¹⁵ Michael Jacobs, "Sustainable Development as a Contested Concept," in *Fairness Ad Futurity: Essays on Environmental Sustainability and Social Justice*, ed. Andrew Dobson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 29.

¹⁶ Adams, 2.

¹⁷ Susan Baker, Maria Kousis, Dick Richardson and Stephen Young, "The Theory and Practice of Sustainable Development in EU Perspective," in *The Politics of Sustainable Development: Theory, Policy and Practice Within the European Union*, eds. Susan Baker, Maria Kousis, Dick Richardson and Stephen Young (London: Routledge, 1997), 2.

¹⁸ Jacobs, 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 26.

remains a highly controversial one. The ongoing dispute in theory and practice over defining and implementing sustainable development may provide potential for criticism of this study. Nevertheless, it is the aim of this thesis to construct a framework based on a number of arguments that highlight the process of sustainable development positively. With the correct agenda sustainable development can provide a mode of development that addresses the international concerns of environmental degradation, ongoing industrialisation and rising levels of poverty

It is necessary to acknowledge the vagueness of the concept of sustainability. The authors who are reviewed in this study use approaches that acknowledge the criticism of the vagueness of sustainable development, yet they defend the concept positively. Adams points out that the UN definition in today's debate around international development presents more of a slogan rather than the basis for theory and implementation. According to him, the phrase "sustainable development" is used and spread with great freedom, however it lacks any consistent meaning.²⁰ In the words of Clark, sustainable development is a varied and vague concept, yet in the same instance he labels it as a normative commitment.²¹ It integrates environmental and economic concerns from both local and global perspectives to meet basic human needs. Thereby he highlights the idea of thinking globally and acting locally as a new framework for structuring international relations around the themes of environmental, economic and democratic globalisation. Sustainable development is and remains a disputed concept. However, it arises from ongoing concerns of international development and provides measures to address them adequately.

The dispute over the concept can be interpreted positively as the continuous battle over its direction. Sustainable development offers room for interpretation and improvements. The concept is much disputed among academics and policy makers, yet such a dispute can pay positive contributions to achieving sustainability in development co-operation. Jacobs outlines sustainable development as a contested concept. Such concepts have two levels of meaning where the first level is a unitary but imprecise form of a short definition²² such as that given in the Brundtland

²⁰ Adams, 3.

²¹ William C. Clark, "Environmental Globalization," in *Governance in a Globalizing World*, eds. Joseph S. Nye and John D. Donahue (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), 97.

²² Jacobs, 25.

report. The other is the level of contest over the concept of sustainable development and the political struggle over its interpretation and practice. The concept of sustainable development that is now found in much of the EU's development policy provides a lot of room for interpretation, discussion and often criticisms. Jacobs concludes that what is important in this respect is to acknowledge that the political contestation of the meaning of sustainable development does not question the validity of the concept itself but signifies the battle over the direction of economic, social, and environmental development.²³

It is important to acknowledge that while sustainable development and the science behind the concept may indicate and warn us of the hazards of further industrialisation, it does conclude that development must occur.²⁴ The EU in its development policy for the ACP does not question that development needs to take place. Within the academic debate, however it is necessary to note that development itself is a predominantly Western ideology. Adams declares that the terms of industrialisation, urbanisation, capitalism and democracy are those by which development is commonly measured.²⁵ De la Court adequately mentions that the Brundtland definition of sustainable development has underlying assumptions of Western standards and ideas.²⁶ These arguments raise a new level of dispute and criticism of the concept of sustainable development. However, the extent of this research does not allow a discussion of this dispute in detail. It is acknowledged that the EU in its development policy does adopt a Western or eurocentric approach to development. On the same note, this research acknowledges a Western background to the analysis of the EU's development policy that will be adopted in the following chapters. This may again provide room for criticism, yet the reasoning for the approach is that the concept of sustainable development has evolved from that Western view of development and it is analysed from the same perspective.

With the correct agenda sustainable development provides an adequate mode of development. The theoretical motivation for asking the research question is based on the need for development by the people of the Tonga. Adams argues that the needs of the poor should set the agenda for

²³ Jacobs, 26.

²⁴ Thijs de la Court, *Beyond Brundtland: Green Development in the 1990s* (New York: New Horizons Press, 1990), 23.

²⁵ Adams, 5.

²⁶ De la Court, 15.

development policy.²⁷ This notion is evident in the European Consensus on Development, which states: “the primary and overarching objective of EU development cooperation is the eradication of poverty in the context of sustainable development”.²⁸ The statement outlines poverty eradication as its objective and moves on to include sustainable development as its approach to achieving that goal. Adams also draws attention to the fact that poverty is as much a cause as an effect of environmental degradation. One of the most prominent conflicts in sustainable development is the struggle between economic development and environmental protection. Thus, Adams calls for the need to set environmental resources and their use in an economic as well as a social and political context.²⁹

This study embraces Adams’ agenda for development and adopts an environmental focus. To establish an operational concept that measures the effectiveness of EU development policy, this research integrates a “mild ecological approach” to sustainable development. This is outlined by a number of academics including Overton, Jacobs and Dobson and is relevant in constructing an adequate theoretical framework. Overton outlines this approach as development where economic growth should occur without irreversible damage to the environment. In particular, it involves the careful management of global environmental resources in a fashion that increases productivity and meets basic human needs.³⁰ The mild ecological approach raises attention to the international problems of resource depletion and the conflict of integrating economic development and environmental management. Previous studies indicate this conflict as one of the most prominent in the debate surrounding sustainable development. The centre of investigation is the environmental element of sustainable development. The mild ecological approach presents a functional guideline for sustainable development that is concerned primarily with the environmental concerns of development.

Sustainable development provides measures to meet basic human needs without irreversible damage to the natural environment. Overton’s work provides a fundamental basis in this study because it takes a special interest in the development of the Pacific region. When he establishes

²⁷ Adams, 9.

²⁸ European Parliament, Council and Commission, “Consensus on Development,” *Official Journal of the European Union* (2006): par. 1, http://ec.europa.eu/development/policies/consensus_en.cfm.

²⁹ Adams, 8.

³⁰ Overton, 4-9.

the concept of sustainable development, Overton acknowledges that development is necessary to meet the most basic human needs. The process of development should not, however, damage the environment in order for future generations to enjoy the same privilege.³¹ He points to three views of applying sustainability in development policy: ecological sustainability; sustainable economic development; and sustainable societies. While the first approach focuses on environmental issues only and the second approach adopts a purely economic focus, the idea of sustainable societies combines these elements. Consequently, the latter approach provides an additional set of criteria for the mild ecological approach to sustainable development. Therefore, an adequate mode of sustainable development should use and modify ecosystems to improve social and economic wellbeing without compromising the environment.³² This approach puts environmental concerns into the centre of the agenda for sustainable development, yet, it allows for economic and social development. With this agenda, sustainable development provides an adequate mode of development. This concept of sustainability is used in this research to analyse how successfully the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga and the PACP.

The academic background makes it evident that establishing a single definition of sustainable development is a challenging task that is most likely to result in further debate. Nevertheless, previous studies highlight the different aspects of sustainable development that provide a number of operational factors for the successful analysis in this research. Jacobs identifies the need for operational means that must be applied to the concept of sustainable development to be implemented successfully. Sustainable development should be defined with a specific set of measurable criteria.³³ Through discourse analysis he has identified six core elements to operationally implement and measure sustainable development.

1. environment-economy integration;
2. futurity;
3. environmental protection

³¹ *Ibid*, 8.

³² Overton, 7.

³³ Jacobs, 24.

4. equity;
5. quality of life; and
6. participation.³⁴

These elements provide a set of measurable criteria for the pursuit of sustainable development in the co-operation between the EU and Tonga. In addition to the mild ecological approach, this set of criteria provides a number of operational measures for the successful analysis in this research. They address the conflict of integrating economic development and environmental management and provide adequate guidelines for a mild ecological approach to sustainable development that allows for economic and social development without compromising environmental resources.

With the correct agenda, sustainable development provides an adequate mode of development in Tonga and other developing countries. The different aspects that have been raised by the various authors can be applied as criteria to measure the successful implementation of sustainable development in EU development policy. In the frame of this research a limited set of approaches to sustainable development is applied. This set adopts an overarching agenda for sustainable development that is based on the needs of the poor. Furthermore, the agenda adopts a mild ecological approach. The given elements of this approach provide guidelines for the successful reduction of poverty and sustainable development. The aspects of the mild ecological approach do not cover all elements of sustainable development that need to be addressed in order to truly achieve sustainability. The chosen criteria, however, provides measuring tools for analysing how effectively the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga.

³⁴ Jacobs (1999; 26-27) outlines the core elements in more detail: Environment-economy integration: ensuring that economic development and environmental protection are integrated in planning and implementation. Futurity: an explicit concern about the impact of current activity on future generations. Environmental protection: a commitment to reducing pollution and environmental degradation and to the more efficient use of resources. Equity: a commitment to meeting at least the basic needs of the poor of the present generation (as well as equity between generations). Quality of life: a recognition that human well-being is constituted by more than just income growth. Participation: the recognition that sustainable development requires the political involvement of all groups or 'stake-holders' in society.

2.2 A Constructivist Framework

Constructivism has been one of the most influential IR theories since the late 1990s and provides a critical approach to analysing EU development policy. Onuf was amongst the first to introduce constructivism into the debates of international relations with his book *World of our Making* in 1989. A few years later, A. Wendt released his concept of constructivism that is one of the leading in the field. He proposed the idea that “anarchy is what states make of it” in his so-titled essay in 1992. It was Wendt’s intention to build a systematic theory using an ideational perspective that would reveal the overarching and shaping force of structure in the international community.³⁵ With his statement Wendt proclaims that states are the key actors and decision-makers in international relations. Thereby, he makes the character of anarchy in the international community dependent on the decisions states make. Constructivist theory therefore contains a number of core elements that serve in analysing the relationship of development co-operation between the EU and the PACP.

Constructivism proclaims that states are primary decision makers. In applying Wendt’s theory, the international community can find itself in either a conflictual or a peaceful position, depending entirely on the intentions and decisions states make. However, adding to Wendt’s theory Webe pronounces that if the identities of states as decision-makers were questioned, Wendt’s idea would not function.³⁶ Thus, in adopting a constructivist approach, it is acknowledged that states decide what the anarchy in the international community appears as: conflictual or cooperative. Thus, as laid out by Wendt and summarised by Copeland, the state remains a sovereign actor and primary decision-maker in international politics.³⁷

Constructivism offers a new approach to analysing international politics. Since the end of the Cold War IR theory has witnessed growing debates around multiple issues like state sovereignty, globalisation, communications and the social and economic power of knowledge as well as

³⁵ Dale C. Copeland, “The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review Essay,” in *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and his Critics*, eds. Steffano Guzzini and Anna Leander (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 4.

³⁶ Cynthia Weber, *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 60.

³⁷ Copeland, 5.

environmental change and challenges.³⁸ Other prominent theories like positivism and materialism view the world as pre-determined. Idealism and post-structuralism view the world as only imagined by actors. Constructivism, on the other hand views the international community and its affairs in a process of construction.³⁹ The theory rejects the idea of the neo-realist presumption of a universal law of international politics across space and time that is driven by given structures. Neo-realists conceptualise the international structure as a set of relatively unchangeable constraints on state behaviour, yet constructivism highlights norms and practices as driving forces in state relations. Importantly, constructivism declares that international relations are driven by the constructed identity and practice of actors.⁴⁰

In reviewing the constructivist literature, a number of central themes emerge. These include the notions of agency, identity, interest, structure and practice. These themes are essential to analysing the EU development policy for the PACP. Hopf identifies that identity is what states attribute to other states in the international community to understand them, while internally they reproduce their own identity through social practice.⁴¹ In constructivist theory, identity is the most proximate cause of choice, preference and action. However, it cannot be understood without a normative context.⁴² Thus, identity is an empirical variable in constructivist theory that depends on its historical, cultural, political and social context.⁴³

Most constructivists share two understandings: the social construction of knowledge and the construction of social reality.⁴⁴ Adler explains that the social world is constructed through collective, intersubjective structures and processes, where social facts are facts by human agreement. The knowledge of individuals, thus, refers to intersubjective understandings such as language or rules. These understandings turn individuals into agents who can act upon the world around them.⁴⁵ Agency in turn, is one of the guiding elements in constructivist theory according to which the relationship between acting, communication and rationality is crucial. Adler

³⁸ Emanuel Adler, "Constructivism and International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, eds. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (London: SAGE Publications, 2002), 98.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 95.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*.

⁴¹ Hopf, 175.

⁴² *Ibid*, 174.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 176.

⁴⁴ Stefano Guzzini, "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 6, (2000): 149.

⁴⁵ Adler, 100.

identifies that one of the most recent contributions of constructivism is to base practical rationality on practical reason and to place it in a social, historical and normative context.⁴⁶

Following the concept of identity in constructivist theory, the notions of structure and interest present additional variables in international relations. Hopf outlines these elements in a comprehensive manner: the structure of the international system has a wide array of potential choices of action. Nonetheless, these are constrained by the actors' understanding of the identity of other actors that prevails in their historical context.⁴⁷ Interests are the product of identity. They are consistent with the practices and structures of actors. The power of practice, in turn, is the power of states to produce intersubjective meanings within a social structure. In foreign policy therefore states are constrained by national and international social practices.⁴⁸

Constructivism aims to denaturalise the social world in order to discover how identities, institutions and practices are the product of human agency. The theory attempts to establish how the identities and interests of states are constructed by their social norms and practices and how state-interaction depends on the intersubjective accounts between states.⁴⁹ As laid out by Wendt, structure in international relations only exists and evolves through actors and their practices.⁵⁰ An actor's reality is, thus, historically constructed and global politics have an ideational structure.⁵¹ Therefore, the shared intersubjective understandings of actors have a causal force in international relations, where interests produce identity. Thus, actors and structure mutually constitute each other and change in the structure of international relations is possible but difficult to achieve.⁵² This statement will be tested in the course of my research by analysing the implementation on sustainable development in EU development policy.

To truly apply constructivism in the context of this research, it is thus important to determine who the actors are and what interests they have, under what kind of structure they function and what their practices are. The relevant actors in this research are the European Union, the Commission

⁴⁶ Adler, 102.

⁴⁷ Hopf, 177.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 179.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 192.

⁵⁰ Copeland, 5.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 3.

⁵² Hopf, 182.

and its directorate general (DG) for development, which formulates the EU development policy that determines the EU-ACP relationship. The Cotonou Agreement of 2000 establishes the relationship between the EC and member states and the states of the ACP. The PACP and the Kingdom of Tonga will be the relevant actors in the context of this research..

Haas and Elgström provide significant constructivist arguments for analysing EU foreign policy. Haas provides an important basis for studying sustainable development in international relations. He argues that the protection of ecological integrity has, over the last 30 years, elevated to a state interest, whereby sustainable development is a new doctrine by which states seek national power and wealth.⁵³ One of Adler's concluding arguments is that constructivism can help the political and practical understandings of sustainable development by offering a critical understanding of the role of socially constructed knowledge in the establishment of social reality.⁵⁴ Haas concludes that knowledge plays a distinctive role in shaping sustainable development and policy making.⁵⁵ Furthermore, he states that the newly gained understandings of ecological behaviour through scientific expertise has led to new patterns of more comprehensive environmental governance nationally and internationally.⁵⁶

Elgström's article on norm negotiations enhances these arguments, by analysing the incorporation of gendered thinking in EU development policy. By tracing the process of mainstreaming gender-related issues he argues that foreign aid policies can be reinterpreted and EU interests can be constructed to include new norms. When the majority of actors agree on the appropriateness of a new norm, it establishes new bureaucratic practice. The norm gains momentum on an organisational platform and will eventually be internalised by actors.⁵⁷ The constructivist emphasis is, thus, on the role of agency. Moral inspirations can lead to the spread of norms, causing a change of interests that can lead to behavioural alteration.⁵⁸ This process is has been identified by Elgström in the mainstreaming of gender issues in EU foreign policy. It is therefore of interest in this research whether sustainable development is providing new norms in EU development policy.

⁵³ Haas, 585.

⁵⁴ Adler, 110.

⁵⁵ Haas, 587.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 586.

⁵⁷ Elgström, 460.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 459.

The interests of actors are particularly relevant in the relations of international development co-operation. Hopf argues that interest is the product of identity and identities of actors are the result of social practices that constitute them and their structures.⁵⁹ According to Hopf, the interests of actors are consistent with these practices and structures. Constructivism therefore makes interests a central variable that is consistent with an actor's identity. In the context of development policy in particular, state interest becomes one of the major components for analysis. Most importantly, however, Hopf identifies that where there is no reason for interest, no interest will be found.⁶⁰ This fact raises one particular concern in the context of sustainable development in EU development policy towards Tonga. The EU requires an incentive for its interest in the sustainable development of the country. A newly emerging political philosophical theory is used to provide the incentive that constructivism asks for. Namely, cosmopolitanism and its more recent trait of environmental cosmopolitanism provide a political incentive for the EU to implement sustainable development into its development policy and to pursue sustainability in the small island nation of Tonga.

2.3 A Cosmopolitan Incentive

To begin with, it is important to ascertain that rather than a political theory cosmopolitanism offers a philosophical approach that is remarkably relevant to the pursuit of sustainable development. Similar to the discussion of sustainable development, cosmopolitanism is a vague theory that lacks concrete operational tools. While cosmopolitans seek a supra-national form of international organisation, they fail to provide any alternative to the current system of anarchy in the international community. Furthermore, critics point out that states remain the primary and sovereign actors within the international community and the people of these states identify themselves as national citizens rather than members of a human community.⁶¹ Thus, it is important to point out that a cosmopolitan incentive is not an attempt to re-organise the international community. While cosmopolitans seek a supra-national shift in international politics, they fail to offer a mechanism for doing so. Instead, the ideas of cosmopolitan

⁵⁹ Hopf, 176.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 176.

⁶¹ Linklater, 112.

philosophy can be used to provide moral inspirations for the EU to pursue sustainable development in the PACP.

Cosmopolitan theory recognises that different policies are favourable for local, regional and international developments. This is an important recognition in the sustainable development of Tonga, which requires local policies in order to achieve local, regional and global progress. Held is one of the most acknowledged cosmopolitan philosophers, who develops the notion of *cosmopolitan democracy* according to which the international community finds itself in a complex and interconnected states. Therefore, different policies appear favourable for local governments, for regions and for global interests such as economic regulation, development and global environmental change.⁶² Held analyses the process of globalisation, which he describes as the growing and accelerating impact of global interconnectedness.⁶³ To truly develop a cosmopolitan argument that fits the spectrum of this research, however, a number of additional arguments need to be considered to create a comprehensive theoretical framework. While Held outlines basic cosmopolitan ideas regarding the process of globalisation in the international political, economic and social arenas it is necessary to specify and extend the cosmopolitan argument that is applied to analyse the success of implementing sustainable development in EU development policy in Tonga and the Pacific region.

The most fundamental idea of cosmopolitan philosophy is that all human beings do, or at least can, belong to a single human community.⁶⁴ The human community stretches beyond national borders to include all human beings who share some kind of sympathy for one another. Linklater provides evidence that cosmopolitans use to support this idea of a global compassion between the people within that community. He uses Kant's analysis of the rigorous international defence of human rights by Europe, which demonstrates a global conscience. Most importantly, Linklater stresses that the endorsement of universal human rights and the humanitarian law of war illustrate the human capacity for a global conscience.⁶⁵ This argument creates a strong foundation for the cosmopolitan notion of a human community. It shows that people can share empathy for each

⁶² David Held, "Globalisation and Cosmopolitan Democracy," *Peace Review* 9, no. 3 (1997): 310.

⁶³ David Held, "Globalization, Corporate Practice and Cosmopolitan Social Standards." *Contemporary Political Theory* 1, no. 1 (2002): 61.

⁶⁴ Pauline Kleingeld and Eric Brown, "Cosmopolitanism", *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, (Stanford: Stanford University, 2002).

⁶⁵ Linklater, 115.

other beyond the borders of nation states, by accepting one another as human beings who share equal fundamental rights. This is a crucial argument in this study that evolves around the concept of sustainable development in EU development policy. In extending the notion of a global compassion for all members within the human community to our natural environment and future generations, cosmopolitanism provides a vital incentive for the EU to adopt the sustainable development of Tonga into its own interests.

From the growing international distress of environmental degradation comes an extended form of cosmopolitanism that is concerned with the management of natural resources and their impact on the human wellbeing. Linklater raises this thought and develops the notion of environmental cosmopolitanism by asking whether the compassion that people share for each other within the human community can be extended to ecological resources as well as to future generations. He argues that with the growing understanding of global environmental changes, one of the most urging contemporary moral challenges in international politics is to promote a global conscience.⁶⁶ This argument is supported by Dobson and Bell, who establish the idea of *human motivation*. Now that most governments of the international community have committed to some degree to the notion of sustainable development, Dobson and Bell explain that such a shift towards sustainability commitments requires a form of human motivation. That means that states may act because they know it is the right thing to do.⁶⁷

In the pursuit of sustainable development, it is necessary to extend the notion of the human community to its natural environment. It is recognised that human well-being depends on the ecological integrity of the community's environment. Dobson outlines the concept of world citizenship by which he refers to the compassion that people share for each other in the human community.⁶⁸ Dobson and Bell develop the idea of environmental citizenship, which stretches that compassion within the global community to the environment that humans live in and depend upon.⁶⁹ In extending world citizenship to environmental citizenship it is crucial to appreciate the importance of ecological integrity to the human wellbeing. Such realisation has been evident in

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Andrew Dobson and Derek Bell, "Introduction." In *Environmental Citizenship*, eds. Andrew Dobson and Derek Bell, (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2006), 4.

⁶⁸ Dobson, 269.

⁶⁹ Dobson and Bell, 6.

the international political arena throughout the evolution of the sustainability discourse. Hayden explains that global environmental citizenship arises from a moral concern over economic, political and social problems in relation to our natural environment.⁷⁰ Additionally, Hayden develops a strong foundation for the notion of environmental cosmopolitanism by arguing that the cosmopolitan human community can only exist in a healthy environment because the wellbeing of people strongly depends on the appropriate management of their surroundings. Thus, a true cosmopolitan argument cannot disregard the environment in its accounts.⁷¹

The concept of environmental justice can be extended to relate environmental management to human rights. Environmental justice emphasises the point that human well-being is dependent on the environment. In adopting this approach, Hayden argues that the right to life entails the right to a healthy environment, including substantive rights to clean water and air as well as the procedural rights to claim substantive environmental rights.⁷² Linklater suggests that the compassion we share for other members of the human community can be applied to environmental protection and the sustainable use of natural resources, when ecological security is accepted as a human right itself.⁷³

Accepting ecological integrity as a human right therefore provides a moral incentive for the effective pursuit of sustainable development. The reduction of global poverty, the management of natural resources and the concern over future generations are the same fundamental arguments in cosmopolitan debates, which offer new perspectives on how to achieve sustainable development.⁷⁴ The rise of sustainability in international political debates highlights the concern over global environmental issues and the future of human life. Hayden points out that the Brundtland Report and the commitment by states to sustainability illustrates how the international community is now bound by common interests and seeks common solutions. It appears that the quest for sustainable development is being increasingly accepted as a global challenge.⁷⁵ Thus, in the debates surrounding sustainable development, environmental cosmopolitanism can offer a

⁷⁰ Patrick Hayden, *Ethics and Global Politics: Cosmopolitan Global Politics*, (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 147.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 122.

⁷² *Ibid*, 137.

⁷³ Linklater, 110.

⁷⁴ Hayden, 121.

⁷⁵ Hayden, 146.

philosophical approach that integrates these concerns and argues for a universal moral responsibility or human motivation.

Global cosmopolitan justice is the notion that allows accepting environmental integrity as a human right. Dobson calls for more justice as an opportunity for cosmopolitanism to succeed. He criticises Held's account of globalisation and rejects his ideas by pointing out that Held fails to mention and reveal the asymmetry of the globalisation process.⁷⁶ Dobson points to Shiva, who recognises that while the developed North now exists globally, the poorer South remains without global reach and continues to exist only within itself.⁷⁷ Dobson presents cosmopolitanism as an opportunity to resist the asymmetries of globalisation. He points out that specific communities are formed in the process of globalisation and recognises that these are communities of injustice. The ability to act globally, to implement measures of sustainable development, to impact the global economic market and to manage environmental resources is not distributed equally among the human community. From this observation comes Dobson's call for global justice in the international community.⁷⁸

Global justice is a cosmopolitan tool to assure the distribution of equal rights and goods among the human community. This notion is necessary in development policy and co-operation. Beitz highlights the fact that the philosophical attention to the problem of global justice has flourished in recent debates, like it has never before.⁷⁹ Rawls was one of the first to consider and discuss the idea of global justice. According to him, there are three elements in cosmopolitan justice: the full commitment to human rights; democracy; and the socio-economic equality between people. Thereby, he points out that the notion of justice originates from liberal thought and the political culture of democracies. His argument is that cosmopolitan justice needs to be based on conceptions that are global in scope.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Dobson, 262.

⁷⁷ Vandana Shiva, "The Greening of Global Reach," In *The Geopolitics Reader*, eds. Gearoid O Thuatail, Simon Dalby and Paul Routledge, (London: Routledge, 1998), 233.

⁷⁸ Dobson, 267.

⁷⁹ Charles R. Beitz, "Cosmopolitanism and Global Justice," In *Current Debates in Global Justice*, eds. Gillian Brock and Darrel Moellendorf, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 11.

⁸⁰ John Rawls and Erin Kelly(ed), *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 39.

However, this kind of argument remains limited to democratic systems, while the cosmopolitan justice needs to be truly global in scope. Moellendorf criticises Rawls' theory by arguing that it fails to be truly universal in scope.⁸¹ Moellendorf, in turn, emphasises that duties of justice exist between people globally and duties to compatriots do not necessarily precede duties to non-compatriots.⁸² He concludes that such duties require a set of principles including the respect for civil and democratic rights and substantial socio-economic egalitarianism. Thus, he recommends an increase of democratic accountability into existing and future multilateral agreements.⁸³

In cosmopolitan theory, moral responsibility presents an important basis for global justice. Beitz pays an important contribution to the debate around global justice by arguing that in political theory cosmopolitanism seeks to encompass the whole world. Therefore, it can be regarded as a moral and political doctrine that can lead to distinctive prescriptions for policy-making.⁸⁴ Moral cosmopolitanism is established by Pogge's argument that all human beings have a global stature as an ultimate unit of moral concern.⁸⁵ Beitz's interpretation of this statement is that moral cosmopolitanism can provide a basis for global justice that is both individualistic and inclusive and offers a perspective on justifying practical choices.⁸⁶

The cosmopolitan debate around justice makes a significant contribution in this research by providing a moral incentive for EU interests. Moellendorf argues that in a world of injustice and the growing gap between the rich and poor, we must seek a system of just states and institutions of global distributive justice that reaches beyond national borders.⁸⁷ Dobson completes the argument by saying that the cosmopolitan ideal is an international system of states and institutions of economic and political justice that honours human rights and democracy to limit global inequalities.⁸⁸ In addition, Rawls states that a cosmopolitan account of distributive justice takes the wellbeing of people as the object of duties.⁸⁹ This recognition ties in perfectly with the principles of sustainable development that were established previously and proves that in the

⁸¹ Moellendorf, 16.

⁸² *Ibid*, 37.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 171-2.

⁸⁴ Beitz, 15.

⁸⁵ Pogge, 169.

⁸⁶ Beitz, 17.

⁸⁷ Moellendorf, 69.

⁸⁸ Dobson, 264.

⁸⁹ Rawls and Kelly, 50.

context of sustainable development, distributive justice must not necessarily be reciprocal. In the case of EU development cooperation in the Pacific, financial aid only runs one way. Yet, a cosmopolitan perspective recognises that sustainable development is of benefit to both parties.⁹⁰

Linklater expands the notion of duties, from which comes the notion of cosmopolitan justice, to defending ecological duties. He defends the cosmopolitan theory with his statement that the global environmental problems we now face may foster a sense of global connectedness.⁹¹ In his call for more justice Dobson argues that faced with global environmental degradation, the changing climate and the rise in sea levels, small island states are in urge for redistributive or restorative justice. Dobson takes a critical position whereby he claims that justice requires those contributing most to global environmental degradation should do most to solve the consequences.⁹² Linklater points out that efforts to create international institutions that address global environmental harm are unlikely to succeed without a profound change in the moral convictions of the members of political communities.⁹³ Yet, the rise of green political thought and the move towards sustainability and environmental management in numerous multilateral agreements internationally makes such a shift entirely possible.⁹⁴

From the cosmopolitan philosophy, a number of themes emerge that can offer a philosophical incentive for the EU to pursue sustainable development in the Pacific. Especially with the EU's commitment to sustainable development internationally through the Brundtland Report, the Rio Declaration and several following agreements, as well as the integration of sustainable development into EU development policy for ACP countries, a cosmopolitan perspective and approach becomes very desirable. Cosmopolitanism offers a notion of a human community within which people share a global compassion for each other. This compassion is a driving force in pursuing development of poorer countries. Furthermore, the newly emerging ideas of environmental cosmopolitanism extend the compassion people share for each other to their natural environment. Thus, accepting ecological integrity as a human right itself can lead to a global conscience for our environment. In that respect, cosmopolitanism offers an approach that

⁹⁰ Moellendorf, 73.

⁹¹ Linklater, 124.

⁹² Dobson, 270.

⁹³ Linklater, 111.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 121

integrates the concerns of sustainable development and argues for a universal moral responsibility. The cosmopolitan call for more justice in the international community highlights the asymmetry of the globalisation process. Yet, at the same time cosmopolitanism seeks a system of states and institutions of global distributive justice and argues that the move towards sustainable development by states and institutions makes such a shift possible. Thus, a cosmopolitan approach offers a moral incentive for EU development policy in the pursuit of sustainable development in the PACP and the kingdom of Tonga.

THE PACIFIC AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND THE CASE OF TONGA

-Chapter 3-

3.1 Introduction and Chapter Outline

From the previous chapter it is evident that sustainable development is a task that is truly global in scope. The development of Pacific nations and its sustainability is not only the responsibility of Pacific Islanders but, according to the cosmopolitan argument, that of the global human community. It is this argument that provides an incentive for the EU to pursue sustainable development in a seemingly insignificant and distant region, the Pacific ACP. To understand the issues involved in the development of the region, Chapter three provides a background and insight to the Pacific economic and natural environment as well as the case study of Tonga.

From the time of European colonisation emerged a long-standing relationship between the EU and the nations of the Pacific ACP, which continues to shape the development of the PACP today. To understand this relationship this chapter outlines a brief history of EU-PACP relations from the time of colonisation to the current relation that is established under the Cotonou Agreement. The chapter then explores the environmental and economic background of the Pacific region to establish a context within which the needs for sustainable development in the region can be determined. To establish such a context is essential in analysing how the EU addresses the needs for sustainability and to verify whether EU development policies contribute to the sustainable development of the region.

The second part of this chapter provides the case study of the Kingdom of Tonga. This section allows an in-depth investigation of the issues involved in the sustainable development of Tonga. It looks in detail at the environmental difficulties in the development of the country and the needs that must be addressed in order to achieve sustainable development. By determining the specific factors that are involved in the development of Tonga and the country's pursuit of sustainability,

the following chapters will provide the analysis of how effectively the EU addresses them with its development policies in Tonga and the Pacific ACP.

3.2 A Cosmopolitan Incentive for Sustainable Development in Tonga

The pursuit of sustainable development in the Pacific is a challenge on a number of levels. The most relevant question in relation to this research is: why should the EU care about the sustainable development of Tonga? Despite the historical relationship, there are numerous obstacles to this debate. The distance between the EU and PACP is vast and the European knowledge of the region is little. The island nations are dispersed widely across the Pacific with significant environmental, social, political and economic differences between the countries. Their populations are small and have relatively high standards of living compared to other ACP countries. Their contribution to the global market is very limited and the funds they receive from the EDF are comparatively small to other ACP regions. Nonetheless, in the development framework established by the EU for the ACP, the pursuit of sustainable development has become a primary objectives and it has been established in the previous chapter that sustainable development is a necessary mode of development that should be pursued internationally in order to sustain development progress for future generations.

In the EU-PACP relationship, cosmopolitan theory offers an incentive for the EU to effectively pursue sustainable development in the PACP region and a distant and small Pacific country such as Tonga. This cosmopolitan incentive requires an understanding that all human beings have a global stature that is a unit of moral concern.⁹⁵ This concern can provide the basis for global distributive justice that is individualistic as well as inclusive and can justify practical choices.⁹⁶ The moral concern for the development of ACP nations is evident in the EU development policy that adopts as its objective the reduction of poverty.⁹⁷ The moral concern is also evident internationally with the EU's signing of numerous international agreements concerning poverty reduction and sustainable development. In the current system of global inequalities, the international community must seek a system of just states and global distributive justice that

⁹⁵ Pogge, 169.

⁹⁶ Beitz, 17.

⁹⁷ Commission of the European Communities, *ACP-EU Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou on 23 June 2000*, Directorate General for Development, 1 March 2000, Art. 1, www.acpsec.org/en/conventions/cotonou/pdf/agr01_en.pdf.

allows for the practical implications of sustainable development.⁹⁸ Thus, a universal moral responsibility that integrates the concerns of sustainable development provides an incentive for the EU to follow and implement the sustainable development of the PACP and Tonga.

3.3 The Pacific Background

The Pacific environment

The Pacific Ocean is our planet's most vast body of water that covers an area greater than all landmass combined. In the current geological time period, the Pacific Ocean is divided into two distinct zones. One is characterised by the many islands of the South and West Pacific that breach the water's surface. The other is mostly devoid of land. The distribution of islands throughout the Pacific originates from the movement of tectonic plates. The volcanic activity under the surface of the ocean where tectonic plates collide has created volcanic cones that have risen above the Ocean's surface creating Pacific islands. In the shallow waters of subsided volcanoes the coral remains of living organisms have created numerous atolls. East of the area of plate collision, the tectonic plates tend to drift apart, which leaves the Ocean's surface unbreached creating a mostly 'empty' Northern and Eastern Pacific.¹⁰⁰



Fig. 3.1 Pacific Ocean⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Moellendorf, 69.

⁹⁹ University of Texas at Austin. *Perry-Castaneda Library Map Collection: Pacific Ocean*, February 2008, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia07/pacific_ocean_sm_2007.gif.

¹⁰⁰ Brij V Lal and Kate Fortune (eds). *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 3.

An estimate of 20,000 to 30,000 islands are found in the regions of Melanesia in the East, Micronesia in the North and Polynesia in the South. Most islands of the Pacific are grouped in clusters that can be divided into two groups along the Andesite line that runs East of New Zealand, Fiji and Tonga. The islands lying West of this line are made up mostly of continental rock and include a number of large islands that have a greater abundance of natural resources. To the East of the Andesite line, islands tend to be smaller and made up primarily of volcanic basaltic rock with scarce resources.¹⁰¹

The Pacific islands' environments are largely determined by their geology and climate. Since their first appearances above the surface of the Pacific Ocean they have witnessed a number of environmental changes with sea level rises and drops, periods of high rainfalls and periods of droughts. The rise in sea level has been estimated about 1.5 mm per year over the last century, which has led to the drowning of most island coasts in the region due to the gentle sloping of island coastlines.¹⁰² With the settlement of human societies on the islands, the issues of recent changes in climate and sea levels have gained new relevance.¹⁰³

Prior to European contact, the majority of the Pacific population lived in rural areas that were highly dependant on their natural environment. This lifestyle resulted in the large-scale transformation of ecosystems on the islands to support human livelihoods. Yet, the exploitation of natural resources today is increasing at an exponential rate. Much of the indigenous vegetation has been replaced by secondary forests, savannas, agriculture and increasingly, urban development.¹⁰⁴ The conservation of the often fragile, and very sensitive small-scale ecosystems of the Pacific islands is much more determined by human impacts than elsewhere. Therefore, the recognition of naturally evolved ecosystems as a self-functioning and self-sustaining resource is vital in the pursuit of sustainability in the PACP.¹⁰⁵

The traditional Pacific agricultural systems, based on agro-forests and poly-cultural crops were imitating natural forests and mostly protective of the natural soil. By no means did the indigenous

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 4.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 42

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 43.

¹⁰⁴ Harley I. Manner, Dieter Mueller-Dombois and Moshe Rapaport, "Terrestrial Ecosystems," In *The Pacific Islands: Environment and Society*, ed. Moshe Rapaport (Hong Kong: The Bess Press, 1999), 93.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 106.

Pacific populations always live “in harmony” with their environment, yet appropriate adjustments were made to sustain Pacific livelihoods for many centuries.¹⁰⁶ The felling of forests and inapt use of fire have previously led to considerable environmental damage, which in turn had detrimental impacts on the human life in the region.¹⁰⁷ This highlights that in the small-scale Pacific ecosystems, which are as unique as they are vulnerable, the human interaction with its environment is a fragile relationship that is based on very limited resources. Yet, Pacific cultures continue to flourish embracing new social, political and economic developments.

Today, in the age of globalisation, the global market, the growing interconnectedness of the human community and the global impact of consequences of these developments, the Pacific faces a new range of economic, social and environmental issues in sustaining their livelihoods. Some of the nations, like Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea, experience a rapid growth in population size, which puts a number of pressures on the environment. Cash cropping has been on the rise throughout the Pacific, which involves the large establishment of mono-cultural crops that result in a loss of biodiversity. The Pacific nations now face issues of deforestation and land degradation due to larger urban settlements as well as the development of pastures for cattle. Erosion problems that have resulted from intensified agriculture and timber extraction have been reported from many of the countries and waste management remains a growing issue for environmental management. Pollution problems are prominent in small ecosystems and the use of fertilisers and pesticides can easily lead to the contamination of groundwater.¹⁰⁸ These are factors of growing concern in the development of PACP countries.

The Pacific economic and social context

Over the last century, the Pacific islands have experienced immense economic changes and developments, which in turn have led to changing and degrading environments. Together with the process of globalisation, Pacific societies are increasingly becoming consumer societies. Rapid rates of urbanisation, westernisation and population growth are strong indicators of that process. However, the impacts of these developments are often adverse on the environment. Thus, many

¹⁰⁶ William C. Clarke, Harley I. Manner and Randolph R. Thaman, “Agriculture and Forestry,” In *The Pacific Islands: Environment and Society*, ed. Moshe Rapaport (Hong Kong: The Bess Press, 1999), 362.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Pacific islands are now experiencing a loss of biodiversity, a loss and degradation of marine and forest resources and increasing problems related to environmental health. Such modifications of Pacific environments often result in adverse social impacts.¹⁰⁹

Changes have also occurred in the social and political structures of the region. Many lifestyles have changed from the traditional subsistence societies to cash-driven societies that are relying on budgetary assistance and remittances.¹¹⁰ Foreign aid is a vital component of Pacific economies and in some cases provides the most important contribution to national GDPs. Since the end of the Cold War, the Pacific has experienced the withdrawal of aid, military presence and economic support from international actors, however this is welcomed by some as an indication of more meaningful political independence and liberal economic relations.¹¹¹

Pacific economies vary distinctively yet they share the common experience of economic shifts over recent decades. Tourism, forestry and fishing are now the key elements in economic development of the region. A common characteristic of Pacific island countries is the extensive area of the exclusive economic zones (EEZ), which provide great fishing potential. Tourism has become a substantial part of Pacific economies that takes advantage of the beaches, reefs, climate and culture of the islands and has proved to be viable source of employment and foreign exchange. Thus, it is a growing sector of Pacific economies and many countries are pursuing tourism as a major development strategy.¹¹²

Isolation is one of the most prominent restricting factors on Pacific island economies. The lack of appropriate resources and the shortage of capital investment often discourage the establishment of secondary industry. Because of the increase in imported food, the Pacific is moving away from agriculture to new sources of income.¹¹³ Only Fiji, Tonga and Samoa display a large degree of diversification in which manufactured goods make considerable economic contributions.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ United Nations Environment Programme, *Pacific Islands Environment Outlook*, (Mexico: UNEP, 1999), 2.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Richard Wartho and John Overton, "The Pacific Islands in the World," In *Strategies for Sustainable Development: Experiences from the Pacific*, eds. John Overton and Regina Scheyvens (New York: Zed Books, 1999), 41.

¹¹² United Nations Environment Programme, 3.

¹¹³ Wartho and Overton, 38.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

However, many small island nations simply lack the opportunity for commercial agriculture because of their restricted land area.

It is evident in the Pacific region that economic developments put new pressures on Pacific natural resources. Countries are experiencing a rapid rate of urbanisation and increasing industrialisation and their effects are often detrimental on the physical environment and natural resources. Therefore, environmental concerns need new considerations in development efforts and the careful and adequate management of natural Pacific resources. As Wartho and Overton identify, the economic development of the Pacific requires new strategies for sustainable development that recognise the cultural and environmental context of the region.¹¹⁵

3.4 The Pacific Agenda for Sustainable Development

A number of documents are relevant in acquiring an understanding of the Pacific perspective on development and its requirements for sustainability. These documents include the Pacific Plan by the PIF on strengthening regional cooperation and integration; the Action Plan and Strategic Programmes by the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP); the Suva Declaration on Sustainable Development of 1994; and Tonga's Strategic Development Plan Eight. Alongside are used several other regional reports and agreements on Pacific development and environmental management together establish a framework that outlines the need for sustainable development in the region from a Pacific perspective. This approach allows integrating the regional knowledge of the economic and environmental challenges involved in the development of Pacific islands. Localised expertise establishes the knowledge that is necessary to effectively address Pacific sustainable development.

It has been acknowledged internationally that small island countries face certain issues in development that are different to larger countries. The United Nations (UN) Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 on Environment and Development recognised specifically the problems of development in small island states. These issues can be summarised as: smallness; remoteness

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 47.

from major production centres; the high degree of dependency; and ecological vulnerability.¹¹⁶ The significance of outlining the particular concerns that small island states face in development is the international recognition of such issues. Making the international community aware of these problems means that international development actors such as the EU can address development co-operation in the Pacific region more effectively.

Pacific leaders have developed strategies for development that are based on the regional knowledge of Pacific island countries. For over a decade sustainable development has been among the objectives in Pacific development. The signing of the Suva Declaration on Sustainable Development in 1994 signified the integration of sustainability into development approaches by Pacific leaders. The representatives of 14 member states of the South Pacific Forum adopted this new norm of development in the interest of the Pacific people as a whole.¹¹⁷ The signatories to the Declaration are the Cook Islands, the Federal States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua new Guinea, the Republic of Marshall Islands, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu. Evidently, the recognition of sustainable development is widespread across the Pacific and has officially been a strategy for Pacific development for more than ten years.

The Suva Declaration establishes Pacific requirements and guidelines for the successful integration of sustainability into Pacific development efforts. Thereby, it declares that development should not be purely economic but that it should be people-centred, in line with the communal values of the Pacific way of life. Such a Pacific quality of life ensures economic, social and spiritual well-being and must be maintained.¹¹⁸ Thus, the Suva Declaration outlines the following issues that need to be addressed effectively in order to achieve sustainable development in the region:

¹¹⁶ United Nations General Assembly, *Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development*, (Rio de Janeiro: United Nations General Assembly, 1992), Annex I.

¹¹⁷ Akulia Yakabi, "Pacific-Europe Links for sustainable Development and Environmental Management," In *Environment and Development in the Pacific Islands*, eds. Ben Burt and Christian Clerk (Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press, 1997), 270.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

1. Ensure human development concerns are considered and supported at the highest level of government policies, plans, programmes and in program monitoring, assessment and reporting.
2. Enable most people to participate fully in socio-economic life and be owners of their development process.
3. Build on the strengths of traditional systems, institutions and leaderships for community welfare, social order and environment management
4. Ensure that economic benefits are equally distributed for the continued improvement of peoples' well-being.
5. Promote a close relationship between government agents, NGOs, churches, traditional and indigenous institutions, community-based organizations, donors, and other concerned entities towards the formulation, implementation and evaluation of human development policies, plans, and programmes.
6. Support national sustainable human development initiatives through budgetary allocations, the restructuring of public expenditures and additional donor support.¹¹⁹

The Declaration outlines the understanding of sustainable development by Pacific governments and their intentions to practice it. Not only does the Declaration state the requirements for sustainable development in the Pacific region but it provides the necessary guidelines to effectively address them. It recognises that sustainable human development is a multi-dimensional task. It requires the collaboration of various agencies as well as the political will to redirect policies and plans towards greater effectiveness. The human welfare approach that the Declaration adopts illustrates how Pacific leaders put development into a social context. The Suva Declaration approach to sustainable development is similar to that of Adams outlined above. The needs of the people set the agenda for development efforts in the Suva Declaration.

¹¹⁹ Malakai Tadulala, *Issues Paper: Sustainable Development*, (Fiji, August 1998), <http://www.parliament.gov.fj/publications/viewResearch.aspx?research=18>.

More importantly however, the Declaration provides specific guidelines for governments on how to successfully pursue sustainable development in the Pacific. The lack of guidelines is often criticised by opponents to sustainable development. The fact that the Declaration does provide such guidelines illustrates how Pacific leaders are willing to put sustainable development into practice.

The guidelines provided are:

1. to enhance the productivity of the rural and subsistence sector;
2. to promote participatory and community based development;
3. to improve access to land;
4. to expand employment and livelihood opportunities in the rural and subsistence sector;
5. to address inequality and emerging poverty;
6. to overcome disparities due to geographical location;
7. to promote advancement of women;
8. to ensure youth involvement and development.¹²⁰

Similar approaches are outlined in other Pacific agreements. Over the last decade the region has increasingly incorporated sustainable development into strategies for development in the region. The concept of sustainability has also found new relevance in the development cooperation between Pacific leaders and international development agencies. The Pacific Plan by the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) is one of the most relevant documents in the EU-PACP relationship that outlines the Pacific objectives for development co-operation.

The PIF plays a vital role in the EU-PACP relationship. It is the PIF that represents the PACP in development co-operation with the European Commission under the European Development Fund (EDF). In the Pacific Regional Strategy Paper and Indicative Programme of the 9th EDF between 2002 and 2007, the PIF was the Pacific signatory party for the allocation of funds in the region. In October 2005, the Forum Secretariat published the Pacific Plan for strengthening regional co-operation and integration, which outlines the goals and objectives of Pacific leaders in the development of the region and the co-operation with development partners. In the EU-

¹²⁰ Tadulala, *Issues Paper: Sustainable Development*.

PACP relationship, the Pacific Plan plays an important role in providing the Pacific objectives for development co-operation.

The Pacific Plan does not outline sustainable development as an overarching framework for development. It gives four goals and objectives for regional development and co-operation. In the Pacific Plan the PIF places economic growth at the top of the list as its primary objective. The Plan outlines as its goals the enhancement and stimulation of economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and security through regionalisation.¹²¹ According to the PIF economic growth is the top priority for development in the region, thus adopting an economic approach to development. In this way, economic growth entails increased sustainable trade and investment, improved efficiency and effectiveness of infrastructure and the increased participation of the private sector.¹²² As its second objective, the Pacific Plan outlines sustainable development followed by goals for good governance through improved transparency and efficiency in the management and use of resources as well as security through improved political and social conditions. Together, the PIF objectives address a number of problem areas including economic, environmental, social and political development. While the Pacific Plan outlines economic growth as its first objective, the combination of the four given goals produces a multi-dimensional approach to development.

The understanding of sustainable development in the Pacific Plan is enhanced by a number of goals that the plan outlines under the objective of sustainable development. The approach to sustainable development that is adopted in the plan is based on the reduction of poverty, which is the first goal of sustainable development. Secondly, the plan outlines the improved management of natural resources and the environment, followed by improved health and education. Other objectives in the pursuit of sustainable development according to the Pacific Plan are gender equality, enhanced involvement of youth and increased participation in sports, as well as protecting cultural values, identities and traditional knowledge.¹²³

¹²¹ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *The Pacific Plan: for strengthening regional cooperation and integration*, October 2005, p. 3, http://www.pacificplan.org/tiki-download_file.php?fileId=128.

¹²² *Ibid*, 4.

¹²³ *Ibid*.

The Pacific Plan and the Suva Declaration both adopt an approach to sustainable development that puts the needs of the poor and the reduction of poverty at the centre of the agenda. The Suva declaration focuses entirely on integrating sustainable development into Pacific development efforts, yet it fails to address effectively the environmental aspects of development. While the Pacific Plan does not adopt sustainable development as an overarching objective for regional development it does highlight the environmental aspect of sustainability. In that respect, the Plan outlines as one objective in sustainable development the appropriate management of natural resources. the Pacific Plan therefore indicates the Pacific recognition of environmental aspects in the development of Pacific Islands.

SPREP has been among the first organisations in the Pacific to follow the international pursuit of sustainable development and provides in its Action Plan a purely environmental outlook on the issues that Pacific islands face in the development of the region. SPREP organised the Pacific Islands' input to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and is now widely accepted as the region's co-ordinating agency for environmental matters.¹²⁴ The organisation was established in 1980 as a joint South Pacific Forum and initiative that is now an independent regional organisation. SPREP aims to achieve ecologically sustainable development by promoting co-operation and assisting environmental protection. The Action Plan that SPREP provides and periodically reviews is central to Pacific environmental planning and management and provides a vital framework for this research.

The SPREP "Action Plan for Managing the Environment of the Pacific Islands Region 2005-2009" and the "Strategic Programmes 2004-2013" are used to establish a framework that outlines the Pacific environmental concerns for sustainable development. The current Action Plan provides a regional agenda for the environmental management of Pacific islands in order to achieve sustainable development.¹²⁵ In the conflict of integrating economic development and environmental management, this agenda is crucial as it establishes the environmental issues that need to be addressed in order to achieve sustainability. Therefore, the SPREP Action Plan pays an important contribution to establishing a framework that adopts an environmental perspective.

¹²⁴ Yakabi, 272.

¹²⁵ Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme, *Action Plan for Managing the Environment of the Pacific Islands Region: 2005 – 2009* (Apia: SPREP, 2005), 6.

Such a framework allows for the adequate analysis of how effectively the EU contributes to the sustainable development of the PACP and Tonga.

The SPREP Strategic Programmes 2004-2013 make a significant contribution to the Pacific understanding of sustainable development. The approach to the concept that is adopted by SPREP declares that “the three pillars of sustainable development are: biodiversity and the natural environment, economic activity, and peoples, their cultures, traditions, social situations and welfare.”¹²⁶ The same approach is adopted in the Action Strategy for Nature Conservation in the Pacific Islands Region, 2003-2007. Rather than a purely ecological approach to development, the documents outline an approach to sustainable development that is multi-dimensional. Figure 3.1 illustrates the understanding that only a combination of environmental, economic and social aspects in development can lead to sustainable efforts.



Fig. 3.2. Pacific understanding of sustainable development¹²⁷

The SPREP Strategic Programmes outline how sustainable development in the Pacific can be implemented effectively. The Action Plan identifies three priorities in managing the environment sustainably for the period between 2005-2009. These priorities include the management of natural resources, pollution prevention, and climate change, climate variability, sea level rise and stratospheric Ozone depletion.¹²⁸ These three elements are the current focus in the environmental management of the region. To address these issues in the pursuit of sustainable development in the Pacific, SPREP develops Strategic Programmes and annual work programmes from the Action Plan. In its Strategic Programmes between 2004-2013 the following fundamental

¹²⁶ Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific International, *Action Strategy for Nature Conservation in the Pacific Islands Region, 2003-2007: Mainstreaming nature conservation*, 30 October 2002, p. 6, <http://www.fspi.org.fj/Publications/Coastal/NatureConsActStra.pdf>.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme, *Action Plan for Managing the Environment of the Pacific Islands Region: 2005 – 2009*, 8.

objectives and principles are outlined as the necessary requirements for achieving sustainable development:

1. promoting an environment that alleviates poverty and protecting the natural resource base for economic and social development,
2. promoting the long-term sustainable use and development of resources for intergenerational equity,
3. promoting transparent operating system,
4. promoting and using participatory community approaches,
5. promoting equal opportunities for men and women,
6. promoting the appropriate transfer of technology,
7. collaborating with other regional and international organisations, members, civil society, and the private sector, and
8. assisting to further build national capacity by providing professional, competent and timely policy and technical advice.¹²⁹

In addition to the framework that is established by SPREP, the Action Strategy for Nature Conservation in the Pacific Islands Region 2003-2007 develops strategies for mainstreaming nature conservation. Over 320 participants from Pacific island governments, Pacific and international organisations and community groups met in 2002 for the 7th Conference on Nature Conservation and Protected Areas to discuss the mainstreaming of conservation issues. It was recognised at the conference that conservation is best achieved if conservation values are part of mainstream society, and part of decisions by governments, private enterprises and the community as a whole.¹³⁰ This statement highlights the Pacific perspective on sustainable development, whereby leaders of the region agree that environmental factors must be taken into consideration in all development strategies.

Importantly, the Action Strategy outlines the threats and limitations to biodiversity conservation in the region. In the nature conservation of Pacific ecosystems the strategy addresses a number of issues: the lack of institutional capacity especially on a national level; and the lack of coordination

¹²⁹ Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme, *Strategic Programmes: 2004 – 2013* (Apia: SPREP, 2005), 13.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

and integration of conservation activities. Furthermore, the limited economic alternatives and the lack of funds, political support and good governance are major challenges to Pacific environmental management. Because alleviating poverty, food security and earning sufficient wages are often more immediate priorities, integrating the environment into national and regional economies is often difficult to achieve.¹³¹ According to the Action Strategy such factors need to be addressed for successful sustainable development in the Pacific.

The Action Strategy for Nature Conservation addresses the three pillars of sustainable development that are illustrated in the figure 3.2 and attends to the economy-environment conflict that is prominent in sustainable development efforts. The Action Strategy accommodates the environment, the economy, and society by addressing each of the elements. Furthermore, it recognises that combining efforts in all three pillars is essential to achieving true sustainable development. As a goal for Pacific economies the Strategy announces that the sustainable use of natural resources needs to be a priority for economic development of Pacific Island nations. For the achievement of a sustainable future “nature conservation and sustainable resource use are integral parts of all island economies”¹³².

Summary

The development concerns that are established in the regional framework for Pacific sustainable development are characteristic of Pacific islands. Therefore, this framework is fundamental to the successful analysis of EU development policy in the PACP. The development strategies that are discussed in this chapter have a regional scope that addresses the common problems of sustainable development in the Pacific. These emerging themes are the concerns that need to be addressed effectively in the sustainable development of individual countries. A summary of the common themes in Pacific development strategies provides a comprehensive framework that identifies the problems that need to be addressed for sustainable development in the region. This research therefore requires the careful analysis of how EU development policy addresses these issues.

¹³¹ Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific International, 7.

¹³² *Ibid*, 8.

The Pacific framework for sustainable development that emerges presents a scheme that is based on human welfare. The focus for development efforts in order to achieve sustainability is primarily on the reduction of poverty. In the pursuit of sustainable development, the Pacific region adopts strategies that address the three pillars of sustainability. The region seeks to achieve economic development through sustainable trade and investment, effective infrastructure and private sector participation.¹³³ Identified measures for social development are to improve health and education systems, to foster community participation and to advance gender equality.¹³⁴ Furthermore, the framework seeks to adequately manage the natural environment through the sustainable use of natural resources and mainstreaming environmental concerns in development initiatives.

To allow for a comprehensive analysis within the scope of this research, the analysis highlights the environmental pillar of sustainable development and the conflict of integrating economic and environmental development. The environmental focus is beneficial to the analysis as it provides a more specified perspective of the issues that need to be addressed in order to achieve sustainable development in the Tonga and the Pacific region. The Action Strategy for Nature Conservation and the SPREP Action Plan and Programmes address the environmental issues that are prominent in the sustainable development of the Pacific region. The concerns in the pursuit of sustainability in the small island countries of the Pacific are outlined by SPREP as the management of natural resources; the problems of pollution; and the concerns of climate variability.¹³⁵ Furthermore, the strategies for regional Pacific development emphasise the need to integrate Pacific environmental concerns into all small island economies.

The specific concerns of environmental management in the countries of the Pacific region are summarised to establish a comprehensive framework that adopts an environmental focus. There is a strong need for the protection of natural resources in order to provide a base for social and economic development.¹³⁶ Furthermore, the appropriate management of the Pacific environment requires improvement of institutional capacity and coordination and integration of conservation

¹³³ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *The Pacific Plan: for strengthening regional cooperation and integration*, 3.

¹³⁴ Tadulala, *Issues Paper: Sustainable Development*.

¹³⁵ Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme, *Action Plan for Managing the Environment of the Pacific Islands Region: 2005 – 2009*, 11.

¹³⁶ Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme, *Strategic Programmes: 2004 – 2013*, 21.

activities. Most importantly, it is established that environmental factors need to be mainstreamed and taken into consideration in all development strategies.¹³⁷ Investigating the effects of EU development policy and co-operation on the specified issues in the framework for Pacific sustainable development will shed new light on whether the EU contributes to the sustainable development of the PACP and Tonga.

3.5 Case Study: The Kingdom of Tonga

Tonga was selected randomly for this research as a representative of Pacific Islands. This thesis does not dismiss the fact that immense social and cultural differences exist between the various Pacific islands. Yet, in regard of the depletion of natural resources with new economic developments and the difficulties of environmental management, the islands of Tonga share several common characteristics of Pacific island countries. The conflict of integrating economic and environmental aspects in development efforts is crucial in the small and isolated ecosystems and livelihoods of the Pacific. In the attempt to sustain the development of Tonga, this conflict is inevitable and must be addressed adequately.

The characteristics of small island nations and the challenges they face in development have been recognised internationally at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. They can be summarised as smallness, remoteness from major production centres, a high degree of dependency, and ecological vulnerability.¹³⁸ The SPREP Action Plan outlines three physical characteristics including remoteness, exposure and vulnerability that are found throughout the Pacific. Furthermore, it states that socio-economic pressures as well as natural and human hazards are exacerbating the challenges Pacific island nations face in development. With regard to natural resources, the Action Plan outlines that Pacific islands are challenged by the common characteristic of limited land and soil resources and the limited ability to accommodate development pressures.¹³⁹ In that respect, Tonga provides an adequate opportunity for analysing EU development policies in detail to answer the research question. Because Tonga shares the

¹³⁷ Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific International, 8.

¹³⁸ United Nations General Assembly, Annex I.

¹³⁹ Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme, *Action Plan for Managing the Environment of the Pacific Islands Region: 2005 – 2009*, 7.

February 2006.¹⁴¹ It has been a member of the ACP since the first Lomé Convention in 1975 and continues to be a recipient of EDF funding. With the Cotonou Agreement the EU-Tonga relationship remains established under a new development policy framework that is the focus for analysis in this research.

Tonga has a land area that comprises 747 km² with a total of 169 islands of which 36 are inhabited. The country is divided into three main groups of islands including Tongatapu, on which lies the capital Nuku'alofa, the Ha'apai group in the middle and the Vava'u group of islands in the North of the country. The majority of the islands are flat, elevated coral reefs with a few exceptions of uninhabited volcanic islands.¹⁴² In 2006 Tonga had a population of 101,100 people of whom the majority of approximately 70 percent live on Tongatapu. The population currently grows at about 2.8 percent a year but the substantial outward migration of Tongans reduces the growth rate to a yearly 0.3 percent.¹⁴³ Despite the small area of land, Tonga has an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) that expands 700 000 km² across the Pacific Ocean.¹⁴⁴

Tonga's economy is characterised by a large non-monetary sector and the heavy dependence on remittances from Tongan's living overseas. Its resources are mostly fish and the fertile soils. 23% of the country's GDP are won in the agricultural sector and 27 percent in industry. Tonga's main commodities for exports are squash, fish and vanilla beans and its major markets for exports are Japan, the United States and New Zealand. However, the country relies heavily on imports of animal products and foodstuffs, mineral products, base metals and machinery.¹⁴⁵

Like many of the Pacific island nations, Tonga has a small-scale open economy with a narrow base for export of agricultural goods. Tonga's main industries are tourism and fishing and the other half of Tonga's GDP is derived from its service sector. The country depends strongly on imported foods and the remittances that Tongan communities overseas bring back to the country. Over a 5-year period ending in June 2001, the nations gross national product (GNP) was

¹⁴¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Fact Book: Tonga," (2008):

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tn.html>.

¹⁴² United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, *Tonga National Report of the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification*, March 2007, p. 1, <http://www.unccd.int/cop/reports/asia/asia.php>.

¹⁴³ Asian Development Bank, *Key indicators 2007: Economic and Social Statistics*, (2008):

<http://www.adb.org/Tonga/default.asp>.

¹⁴⁴ Brij V Lal et al, 614.

¹⁴⁵ Asian Development Bank, *Key indicators 2007: Economic and Social Statistics*.

estimated to be 34% higher on average than the GDP, largely due to the remittances from over 50,000 Tongans who live mostly in New Zealand, Australia and the United States (US).¹⁴⁶ In 2006, riots following a 20 percent cut in the civil service resulted in a 3.5 percent contraction of the national GDP and the destruction of much of the capital's business district. Further economic impacts were evident in the commerce sector, transport, communication and manufacturing and tourism receipts dropped by 10.4 percent.¹⁴⁷ One year later, in July 2007 Tonga joined the WTO conforming to trade liberalisation and revenue reforms.¹⁴⁸ In 2008, Tonga's GDP is expected to resume with urban reconstructions and improved tourism with new air services between Fiji and Vava'u.¹⁴⁹

Tonga's challenges in sustainable development

For Tonga, its survival both in the short-term and long-term perspectives is based on ensuring that sustainable development is pursued seriously.¹⁵⁰

Increasingly, the notion of sustainability is evident in the national development strategies for Tonga. A number of documents highlight this evolution, including the Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9 published by the PIF, the First National Report by the Tongan Department of Environment, and the National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan. These reports highlight the growing recognition of sustainable development in development efforts in Tonga

The elements of sustainable development that are evident in the regional approaches are found again in Tonga's national development objectives. The vision for Tonga's development that is expressed in the Strategic Development Plan 8 is "to create a society in which all Tongans enjoy higher living standards and a better quality of life through good governance, equitable and

¹⁴⁶ Bruce Knapman, Davis Derrin and Sharan Diwesh, *Tonga: Natural Resource Use and Sustainable Socioeconomic Development: Economic report prepared for the Asian Development Bank and the Government of the Kingdom of Tonga* (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2002), xi.

¹⁴⁷ Asian Development Bank. "Asian Development Outlook 2008: Workers in Asia." (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2008), 256.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 256-7.

¹⁵⁰ Tonga Department of Environment, "First National Report," Tonga: Tonga Print Ltd., 2006, iii.

environmentally sustainable private sector-led economic growth, improved education and health standards, and cultural development.”¹⁵¹ Furthermore, the Plan sets out a number of goals to achieve its ambitions:

1. to create a better governance environment;
2. ensure macroeconomic stability;
3. promote sustained private-sector led economic growth;
4. ensure equitable distribution of the benefits of growth;
5. improve education standards;
6. improve health standards;
7. ensure environmental sustainability and disaster risk reduction; and
8. maintain social cohesion and cultural identity.¹⁵²

The goals set out in the Strategic Development Plan address the political, economic, environmental and social elements of development. The vision that is expressed in the Plan declares that the aim of development efforts is to achieve a better quality of life in Tonga. The approach it adopts is thus centred on people and their needs. The Strategic Development Plan 8 for Tonga provides a specific section that adopts a people centred approach to the needs for development in the country. The means to achieve the vision are multi-dimensional. Importantly, the Development Plan does identify environmental sustainability as one requirement for its vision. The environmental aspect in development and the concerns of environmental management in Tonga are the focus of the case study.

The recognition of the importance of environmental and resource management in the Tongan Government is increasingly evident, which was highlighted by the decision in 2000 to establish the Department of Environment as a full department.¹⁵³ Its role is to coordinate the government activities in relation to environmental management decisions and to formulate environmental policy. In Tonga the issues concerning the environment are co-ordinated by the Environmental

¹⁵¹ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 35.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Knapman et al, xviii.

Planning and Conservation Section, Ministry of Lands, Surveys and Natural Resources.¹⁵⁴ In addition, an Environmental Advisory Board was established and a number of bills concerning environmental management and biosafety have been submitted to the Crown Law Department in 2004.¹⁵⁵ The Tongan Government does acknowledge officially the task for a more stable macroeconomic environment, the promotion of education and technology, institutional infrastructure and the prevention of environmental degradation in order to achieve sustained growth.¹⁵⁶

Tonga's land resources are under pressure by the growing population density in urban areas, by land settlements and by the various forms of land use. All land in Tonga belongs to the Royal Crown and is divided between estates of the King, the Royal Family and Nobles. According to the Lands Act every male Tongan at the age of 16 is entitled to a tax allotment of 3.3 hectares for farming or a smaller town allotment for residential purposes. However, the growth in population is increasingly affecting the demand for land that can in many cases no longer be fulfilled. In turn, families are urged to put more pressure on their land resources, which often leads to diminishing natural island protection by over-harvesting coastal mangroves.¹⁵⁷

The Strategic Development Plan 8 for Tonga outlines the environmental problems of recent developments. Over 30% of the country's population now live in urban areas. Urbanisation in Tongatapu and the wider Nuku'alofa area is creating immense pressures on the local land resources. Land is depleting and natural mangrove swamps have been converted into subdivisions. The resulting problems are the erosion of natural buffer zones as well as sanitation concerns with human and industrial waste infiltrating the area.¹⁵⁸ The removal of mangroves leads to the loss of habitat, particularly for juvenile fish and crustaceans.¹⁵⁹ In many areas of the

¹⁵⁴ United Nations Environment Programme, *Pacific Islands Environment Outlook*, 28.

¹⁵⁵ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 12.

¹⁵⁶ Knapman et al, xiv.

¹⁵⁷ United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, *Tonga National Report of the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification*, 2.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 123.

islands, the coastal forest strip has been dramatically reduced, which naturally used to serve to prevent shoreline erosion and protect the inland inhabited and agricultural areas.¹⁶⁰

In addition to erosion problems along the shoreline of Tonga's islands, climate change is becoming an increasing concern in the development and environmental management of the country. The consequences of climate change such as the predicted sea level rise and increased frequency and intensity of cyclones are expected to significantly impact Pacific islands over the next 50 years. Nuku'alofa, the capital, is particularly vulnerable to such events because it lies on the lowest point of the island that makes it very susceptible to flooding and inundation. Coral reefs that are significant fishery and tourism resources act as barriers to open ocean swells. A change in Ocean temperatures can significantly degrade coral reefs, which will further expose the islands to the dangers of floods.¹⁶¹

Tonga's biodiversity is under intense pressure. Urban, commercial and agricultural developments continue to exploit the country's last resources. Estimates say that only around 4,000 hectares or 5.3 percent of Tonga remains forested today. The biodiversity that is dependent on the natural forest is now confined to the land area that remains forested. Yet, this area is increasingly disturbed by invasive weeds and pests as well as humans who strip bark and collect firewood. Of the endemic biodiversity on Tonga's land only about a dozen plant species and two endemic bird species remain today. The loss of inshore marine biodiversity has also been reported due to the open access by coastal populations. The reefs and lagoons are prime sources for subsistence supplies of fishery resources but they are experiencing problems of overexploitation and the loss of species.¹⁶²

Pollution is a major concern that Tonga has to face in recent development of the country. The problem originates from the growing use of fossil fuels, the improper disposal of solid waste, the runoff from pesticides and fertilisers into the groundwater and sea and the random disposal of waste by maritime vessels. Especially in urban areas, littering and dumping of solid wastes on beaches and vacant land are becoming major concerns. The agriculture relies heavily on the use

¹⁶⁰ United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, 3.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, 3.

¹⁶² Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 125.

of fertilisers and pesticides and other chemicals come from industries such as power supply and construction work. Other contributing factors to the growing problem of pollution and waste management in Tonga are the burning of trash and deforestation.

The First National Report on Biodiversity outlines a set of goals and strategies to effectively address environmental management in Tonga. These goals set a framework for the issues that need to be addressed to sustainably manage the Tongan environment and natural resources. This framework allows effectively analysing what impacts EU development policies have on these issues. The concerns that are addressed in the Report on Biodiversity are the particular environmental issues that Tonga needs to address in order to achieve sustainable development. Identifying these concerns is the first requirement to answering the research question. The extent to which EU development policies in the PACP and Tonga address these issues will shed new light on how effectively the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga and the PACP.

Forest Ecosystems: the goal is to manage Tonga's forest ecosystems and resources sustainably to provide the full range of services essential for Tonga's economic and social well-being, within a land-management system that integrates all land uses.¹⁶³

Marine Ecosystems: the goal is to provide for productive, healthy and sustainably managed habitats including coral reefs, slope fisheries, spawning and feeding sites.¹⁶⁴

Species Conservation: to protect priority species in their natural habitat and the diversity of endemic, native and non-native species.¹⁶⁵

Agro-biodiversity: to protect, conserve and sustainably manage Tonga's rich agro-biodiversity, supported by progressing science-based initiatives to enhance productivity and genetic stability.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Tonga Department of Environment, *National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan* (Tonga: Department of Environment, 2006), 43.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 48

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 53

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 59

Local Community and Civil Society: to ensure their pride in Tonga's natural heritage and their participation in protection and management.¹⁶⁷

Access and benefit Sharing from the use of Genetic Resources and Traditional Ecological Knowledge.¹⁶⁸

Mainstreaming Biodiversity Conservation: to ensure that biodiversity is recognised, respected and integrated into social and economic sectors, strategies and plans.¹⁶⁹

Financial Resources and Mechanism to finance Tonga's NBSAP is financed from diverse and reliable sources that are local and external.¹⁷⁰

The European Union as a development actor in Tonga

The challenges of sustainable development in the EU-Tonga relationship occur on a number of levels. The environmental aspects that are outlined in this chapter provide a local perspective. The challenge in the relationship between Tonga and the EU is to successfully pursue sustainable development from an international perspective. The isolation and remoteness of the country and the vast distance between the two are major obstacles in EU contributions to the country's sustainability. This emphasises the importance of the cosmopolitan incentive for the EU to accept the Tongan population and environment as part of the human community. As an international development actor, this incentive requires the adequate development of the country that is based on people's needs and allows for sustainability.

The relationship between Tonga and the EU was first established with the Lomé Convention in 1975. Since 1975, the Kingdom of Tonga has benefited from European development assistance. Over the 20-year period of the Lomé regime, the EU granted a total of \$19.8 million in

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 63

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 65.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 69.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 73.

development funds. In 2005 the country was ranked 54th in the UNDP Human Development Index.¹⁷¹ Its relations with the EU are generally good. In contrast to many of the ACP states however, the EU is only a minor trading partner for Tonga with less than one percent of its exports relating to the Union.¹⁷² This is beneficial to the research, which examines the EU as a development actor rather than a trading partner.

As a development actor, the EU has contributed most of its fund to the Vava'u group of islands. Located in the north of the Kingdom, Vava'u is the second group of islands in terms of population as well as land area. With an abundance of natural resources, the group has greater potential for agriculture and tourism than other parts of the Kingdom. However, a series of constraining factors have undermined the development of Vava'u, including relatively low productivity, undeveloped marketing infrastructures, substantial import levels and the poor distribution of utilities and public services. Especially tourism was difficult to establish because of the limited access and poor transport infrastructure on the islands.¹⁷³

Since the Lomé Conventions, the allocation of EU development funds has shifted to other sectors. With Lomé III and IV resources were entirely allocated to the development of the Vava'u island group.¹⁷⁴ With the seventh EDF the EU allocated €6 million to activities in the Vava'u region as well as regional projects in agriculture and fisheries. The eighth EDF of €7 million allocated another 70% of the funds to the support of the Vava'u group with an emphasis on agriculture, fisheries and tourism. The ninth EDF between 2002 and 2007 allocated €3.7 million to Tonga. These funds were mostly allocated to the development of social sector support programmes, education, health and sanitation in the Vava'u region.¹⁷⁵ Currently, Tonga is planned to receive under the 10th EDF. The focus of fund allocations is now on...

¹⁷¹ United Nations Development Programme.

¹⁷² Directorate General Development, *EU Relations with Tonga*, 2006,

http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/country/country_home_en.cfm?cid=to&lng=en&status=new.

¹⁷³ Myfanwy van de Welde, "Tonga-EU Cooperation: Developing the Vava'u Islands," *Courier*, no. 160 (December 1996), <http://dspace.lib.uct.ac.za/gsd/cgi-bin/library?e=d-00000-00---off-0demo--00-0--0-10-0---0---0prompt-10---4-----0-01--11-en-50---20-help---00-0-1-00-0-0-11-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=demo&cl=CL1.5.1&d=HASH01e8da54a0f0725729d4caf8.4.2.6>.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Directorate General Development.

The ninth and tenth European Development Fund (EDF) are the focus for examining the issues that the EU development framework for Tonga addresses. The European Council decided in December 2005 that the EDF and the European Budget should continue to be financed separately. Furthermore, the EDF remains the primary source of co-operation funding for ACP countries.¹⁷⁶ Under Cotonou the EU operates multilaterally under the regional strategy and bilaterally in Tonga. 9th EDF National Strategy Paper and Indicative Programme. A comparison between the ninth and tenth EDF allows examining the shift in development policies and whether they address the environmental aspects of sustainable development in Tonga.

¹⁷⁶ Commission of the European Communities, "Annual Report on the European Community's Development Policy and the Implementation of External Assistance in 2006," *Communication from the Commission the Council and the European Parliament* COM(2007) 349 final (Brussels, 21 June 2006), eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2007:0349:FIN:EN:PDF.

EU DEVELOPMENT POLICY

-Chapter 4-

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the framework of EU development policies in the PACP. After establishing the needs for sustainable development in the Pacific and Tonga, it is important to discuss the EU development policies that are in place. The interaction between the EU and PACP is outlined in order to explore the development regime that currently determines this relationship, namely, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement between the EU and ACP. The focus of the policy analysis is how effectively EU development policy integrates and addresses sustainable development in the PACP. As previously outlined, the measuring factor for the successful integration of sustainability into EU development policy is the incorporation of environmental concerns into development co-operation.

In addition to the Cotonou Agreement, a number of other development frameworks contribute to the integration of sustainable development into EU development policy. Amongst the most significant is the recent Consensus for Development that was jointly signed by the Council of Ministers, the EP and the European Commission in 2005. Furthermore, the attempts by the EU Commission to mainstream the environment and sustainability into development cooperation are outlined and discussed to trace the process of integrating sustainability into EU development co-operation. An analysis of the EU development framework assists in assessing how successfully the EU manages to integrate sustainable development into its development policy and address the needs for sustainability in the PACP. The following chapter relates the outcomes of this framework back to the case study of Tonga and analyses in detail how successfully the EU addresses sustainable development issues in its development policy.

History of the EU – PACP relationship



Fig. 4.1 Pacific ACP countries¹⁷⁷

The relationship between the European Community (EC) and the nations of the ACP has evolved from the colonial past of European nations in Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific regions. From the early 18th century until the 1950s the Pacific Island states were governed by colonial powers with one exception: Tonga. Independence was gained by the Pacific Islands at a relatively late stage, yet it was the colonial era that led to the incorporation of Pacific states into the world economy. Goods such as sugar, copra, gold, coffee, nickel and timber were brought to Europe in exchange for the excess manufactured goods. Similarly, this style of interaction continues to shape the relationship between the EU and the Pacific region today.¹⁷⁸ Through the forces of globalisation and trade liberalisation the relationship continues to rest on an economic basis; however, a more subtle process of political negotiation is evident, which is reshaping economic relationships.

The EU-ACP historical background is the reason for the relationship that exists today. Despite the vast distance between Europe and the Pacific islands, the relationship between the EU and PACP nations has remained a strong one that has been established within a number of

¹⁷⁷ Commission of the European Communities, *Development: The Pacific and the European Union* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2002), 27.

¹⁷⁸ Wartho and Overton, 38.

frameworks. Former colonies were incorporated into a close network of relationships with the EU and proved to be an enduring group in international affairs.¹⁷⁹ In 1957, after the colonisation process, the relationship was officially determined by the Yaoundé Conventions. These were followed by the trade and aid framework of the Lomé Conventions between 1975 and 2000. Until that time, ACP states had evolved from the colonial special associate status to Independent Associated States to partners under the Lomé Agreements.¹⁸⁰ Historically, Lomé presents the most structured and significant relationship between the EC and ACP. Nonetheless, its poor performance and failure to improve the economic situations of the majority of ACP states, led to a European desire to reform the relationship under a new framework for development and trade.¹⁸¹ Finally, the need to conform to World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules has resulted in the dismissal of the preferential Lomé regime and led to the current framework of the Cotonou Agreement.

4.2 The EU as an International Development Actor

The role of the EU in the Pacific remains double sided. The Union is an economic trading partner as well as a development actor. Both roles are interconnected and cannot be analysed in complete separation. Nonetheless, in this research the focus remains on the EU as an international development actor. As such, the Union delivers more than ten percent of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and with its member states, the Union provides around 55 percent of total international ODA. While, the EU is now devoting an increasing amount of its aid to the nations of the former Soviet bloc, the ACP continue to receive larger proportions than developing nations of the Mediterranean or Asia.¹⁸² The EU is truly global in its scope of development co-operation; however, the development assistance it delivers to the ACP group of former colonies presents a unique relationship.

¹⁷⁹ Michel Smith, "The EU as an international actor," In *European Union: Power and Policy-making*, eds. Jeremy Richardson (New York: Routledge, 2006), 293.

¹⁸⁰ Stephen Dearden and Clara Mira Salama, "The New EU ACP Partnership Agreement," *Journal of International Development* 14, no. 6 (2002): 899.

¹⁸¹ Martin Holland, "20/20 Vision? The EU's Cotonou Partnership Agreement," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 9, no. 2 (Winter/Spring 2003), 161-2.

¹⁸² Dearden and Salama, 899.

The ACP nations form major development regions in which the Union operates on a number of levels, which makes this interaction exceptional from a development cooperation perspective. The new objectives defining the relationship between the EU and ACP are now established under the Cotonou Partnership Agreement, signed in 2000. The Agreement provides a new framework for the Union's development and trade relations with the ACP developing countries. What makes the relationship between the PACP and the EU unique is that under the Cotonou regime, the Union operates on bilateral as well as multilateral regional bases.¹⁸³ From the EDF the Union provides both RSPs and RIPs as well as national programmes and strategies for the allocation of funds. Both levels under the ninth EDF are taken into consideration in this research. The RSP for the PACP is included to provide a regional overview. The National Strategy Paper (NSP) and Indicative Programme (NIP) for Tonga under the ninth EDF relates the EU development policies directly back to the case study and is analysed in detail to answer the research question. Furthermore, the case study takes into account the NSP and NIP of EDF ten. This allows for a longitudinal analysis of the EU development policy for Tonga.

The EU policy-making process

Political theory is the academic language that is used to analyse and understand the policy-making processes of the EU. In this academic field it is recognised that policy-making in the EU may differ considerably across the various policy issues. The member states and EU institutions both matter in the process. Yet, their respective roles and powers remain subject to theoretical debate. A range of hypotheses has been put forward by the numerous theories, which can be grouped most generously under the two classifications of rationalism and constructivism.¹⁸⁴ While the rationalist theory views the policy process as one of bargaining between key actors in order to maximise utility based on fixed preferences, constructivism sees EU policy-making as a process of socialisation between actors. Constructivist theory of the EU policy process is based on European norms and identities, where institutions include formal rules as well as informal norms, which constitute actors in shaping their identities and preferences.

¹⁸³ Smith, 296.

¹⁸⁴ Mark A Pollack, "Theorizing EU Policy-Making," In *Policy-making in the European Union*, ed. Helen Wallace (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 46.

Constructivism is a relatively recent theory in the analysis of the EU policy-making process. It was not introduced until 1999, with the publication of a special issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy* on the “Social Construction of Europe”. However, academics have been quick to adopt the theory to analyse and explain the policy-process.¹⁸⁵ Smith argues that the EU in its international activities constitutes an evolving *negotiated order*.¹⁸⁶ Thereby the process is as important as the outcome, which provides a basis for a constructivist analysis. The Union as an international actor is a product of institutional negotiations as well as a part of that process.¹⁸⁷ Hence, this research acknowledges that the constructivist approach allows shedding new light on the European trade and aid policy and in analysing the relationship between the EU and PACP. As one of the longest established policy frameworks and the original purpose of the EEC, trade and aid relations are given a new perspective in constructivist theory.

Development policy in Europe is not only a domestic issue. It was soon adopted at the Union level, which has made the EU the largest international aid donor in recent years. What needs to be asserted in analysing this Union-level development policy is that the EU is a complex and unique policy-making system that operates on a multinational and neo-federal basis.¹⁸⁸ Richardson concludes that the EU has now acquired for itself the policy-making features of a modern state with an increasingly wide range of policy sectors.¹⁸⁹ This research focuses on policy at the Union level rather than the development relations of individual member states. Thereby, it acknowledges that the coordination and cooperation between policy-making instruments plays a vital role in the constructivist analysis of the EU as an international development actor in the Pacific.

This research is, therefore, based on a policy analysis that adopts a Union-level or supra-national approach. In the network of EU institutions the relationship between key players such the Commission, the European Parliament (EP), and the Council of Ministers (CM) is in a permanent state of fluctuation. Moreover, it is evident from previous studies that the relationship between the EU and its member states is directly affected by the complex nature of the Union’s policy-

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 22.

¹⁸⁶ Smith, 304.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 305.

¹⁸⁸ Jeremy Richardson, “Policy-making in the EU: interests, ideas and garbage cans of primeval soup,” In *European Union: Power and Policy-making*, ed. Jeremy Richardson (New York: Routledge, 2006), 5.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 4.

making process.¹⁹⁰ This process is usually analysed through one of two perspectives: a national policy-making model or a supra-national model of policy-making.¹⁹¹ The supra-national approach allows identifying the Union as an entity for development in the PACP.

Trade and aid relations have been the EC's most fundamental and long-established international relations. Between the 1950s and 1970s several international agreements led to the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) as a world trading system. Smith argues that trade and aid agreements form the core of the EU's international policy agenda.¹⁹² In relation to that policy agenda, the Treaty of Maastricht outlined the principles of complementarity, co-ordination and coherence between the Community and member states for development policy and established a second pillar of EU policy: the common foreign and security policy (CFSP). It provides new procedures that grant the Commission the right to initiative in the field of the CFSP.¹⁹³ Furthermore, the Treaty of Amsterdam has added the requirement of consistency in EU external relations¹⁹⁴ and relates humanitarian intervention to the pillar of security policy.¹⁹⁵

Internationally, the EU has become a strong actor in the fields of trade and aid relations. The crucial development in the Union's committed foreign policy was the implementation of the Lomé Conventions between the EC and ACP, the first of which came into force in April 1976 and was followed by three successive conventions until 2000.¹⁹⁶ They served to establish a strong and lasting relationship of trade and aid negotiations by the EU. From the initial EEC objective, trade and aid relations have evolved significantly and the Union finds itself in a continuous engagement of international negotiations. Furthermore, Smith argues that as an international actor the EU has a new and unique form of behaviour and influence. Most importantly, it has a major position in influencing the foreign policies of other international actors.¹⁹⁷ In the Pacific the EU remains a major trading partner and continues to allocate significant development funds.

¹⁹⁰ Richardson, 25.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, 24.

¹⁹² Smith, 289.

¹⁹³ Council of the European Union, *Consolidated Version of the Treaty Establishing the European Community*, 24 December 2002, Art. 177, www.europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/treaties/dat/12002E/pdf/12002E_EN.pdf.

¹⁹⁴ Dearden and Salama, 900.

¹⁹⁵ Smith, 294.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 292-3.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 290.

4.3 The Cotonou Partnership Agreement

The Cotonou Partnership Agreement between the EU and the 77 nations of the ACP that was signed on 23 June 2000 in Cotonou, Benin provides the policy framework that is the focus of analysis in this research. The Agreement was enforced on 1 April 2003 after completion of the ratification process¹⁹⁸ and provides a new 20-year framework for EU development policy in the Pacific and other ACP regions until 2020. Under Cotonou the EU is involved bilaterally as well as on a multilateral basis in the PACP region that includes the 14 nations of the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, the federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu. The relationship between the independent nations of the PACP and the EU was established in 1975 with the Lomé Conventions that initiated European programmes of co-operation and humanitarian assistance. Since 2000, the Cotonou Agreement provides the development policy that determines the relationship between the EU and the nations of the ACP.

Cotonou provides a number of new developments and innovations in the relationship and co-operation between the EU and ACP. With a 20-year framework the Agreement provides sufficient planning security for all parties. After the failed WTO Conference in Seattle in 1999, the Cotonou Agreement is the EU's attempt to prove that the partnership co-operation between industrial and developing countries is possible.¹⁹⁹ Following the 1998 negotiations for a new policy-framework, a number of key objectives were established in the 2000 Cotonou Agreement, including the reduction of poverty, increased political dialogue, good governance, regulating migration, new WTO compatible trade relations and the reform of instruments.

¹⁹⁸ Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, *Medienhandbuch: Entwicklungspolitik 2006/2007* (Berlin: BMZ, Referat Presse und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, 2006), 411. (Original) Am 23. Juni 2000 wurde das Partnerschaftsabkommen in Cotonou/Benin unterzeichnet, welches die entwicklungspolitischen, die wirtschaftlichen und die handelspolitischen Beziehungen zwischen den AKP-Staaten und der Europäischen Union regelt. Es trat am 1. April 2003 nach Abschluss der Ratifikationsverfahren in Kraft und erfasst den Zeitraum von 2000 bis 2020.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 155.

(Original) Damit konnte die EU nach der gescheiterten WTO-Konferenz in Seattle vom Dezember 1999 zeigen, dass partnerschaftliche Kooperation und Einigung zwischen Industriestaaten und Entwicklungsländern möglich ist.

In the evolution of sustainable development in EU development policy, the Cotonou Agreement is a new step. The objectives for development co-operation by the EU in the ACP highlight the intentions and conflicts in the debates surrounding sustainable development. The Cotonou Agreement incorporates the objective that is outlined in Article 177(1) of the Treaty establishing the European Union. This article provides the legal basis for EU development co-operation and outlines as its objectives the reduction and eventual eradication of poverty.²⁰⁰ As Article 1 of the Cotonou Agreement determines, the objectives established under this policy-framework are: “reducing and eventually eradicating poverty consistent with the objectives of sustainable development and the gradual integration of the ACP countries into the world economy.”²⁰¹

In Article 1 of the Cotonou Agreement the EU outlines three factors surrounding the debate of this research: the needs of the poor, sustainability and economic integration. Furthermore, the phrasing of the article illustrates the points that are relevant in the discussion of sustainable development in EU development policy. Article 1 outlines sustainable development as an objective in development policy to achieve the reduction and eradication of poverty. Thus, according to the Cotonou Agreement the EU does adopt an approach to development co-operation that puts the needs of the poor at the centre of attention and uses sustainable development as a means to achieve its intentions. According to the article, the EU therefore adopts an approach to development in the ACP that is similar to the one outlined by Adams. His interpretation of sustainable development has been outlined previously as one that should use the needs of the poor as its policy agenda.²⁰²

More importantly however, Article 1 makes reference to economic development and thereby highlights the conflict of economic-environment integration that consequently arises. The objectives of the Cotonou Agreement declare in the same instance that the goal of development co-operation is to integrate ACP states into the world economy. Thus, the Agreement adopts an economic approach to development assistance and makes economic integration a primary objective. In view of that, the Agreement expects this approach will result in the reduction of

²⁰⁰ Council of the European Union, *Consolidated Version of the Treaty Establishing the European Community*, Art. 177(1).

²⁰¹ Commission of the European Communities, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou on 23 June 2000*, Art. 1.

²⁰² Adams, 9.

poverty. On the other hand this statement presents the problem of the economy-environment conflict that surrounds sustainable development. This conflict is frequently outlined as one of the major obstacles in the pursuit of sustainable development.

What is seen in the Cotonou Agreement is that the EU acknowledges the debate that surrounds sustainable development and attempts to combine sustainable development and economic integration. The Agreement does in many ways address development co-operation in a fashion that is outlined in this research as an appropriate approach to sustainable development: one that puts the needs of the poor at the centre of the agenda. A number of times, the Agreement declares the reduction of poverty as the priority for development and declares sustainable development as its approach to doing so. In Article 1, the Cotonou Agreement integrates sustainable development and economic integration of ACP states, which addresses the debates surrounding development co-operation today. How the EU incorporates these issues is of crucial relevance to how successful it is in implementing measures for sustainable development and achieving the reduction of poverty in Tonga and PACP.

The major progress that distinguishes Cotonou from the Lomé regime is the new non-preferential trade regime and the increased political dimension and political conditionality on ACP states. The enlarged political dialogue outlined in the Agreement encompasses matters of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, peace and stability progress, as well as global impacts of sustainable development and the management of natural resources.²⁰³ Article 9 of the Agreement outlines as essential elements in development co-operation the focus on human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Again, this article states that sustainable development shall be “centred on the human person, who is the main protagonist and beneficiary of development.”²⁰⁴

Sustainable development is addressed even further in the same article, which declares sustainability as an overarching objective of development co-operation. In addition to the political dialogue, Article 9(3) outlines good governance as a fundamental element in

²⁰³ Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, 156.

(Original) Stärkung des politischen Dialogs; dies schließt Fragen der Demokratisierung, Beachtung der Menschenrechte, Rechtsstaatlichkeit, Friedens- und Stabilitätspolitik sowie die großen Probleme mit weltweiten Auswirkungen wie Rüstungsausgaben, nachhaltige Entwicklung und Umweltfragen mit ein.

²⁰⁴ Commission of the European Communities, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou 23 June 2000*, Art 9.

development co-operation. In that respect, good governance was defined as a fundamental – not essential- element of the Agreement, after thorough negotiations by ACP governments.²⁰⁵ Thereby, it is important to note that good governance is defined as the transparent and accountable management of human, natural, economic and financial resources for the purpose of sustainable development.²⁰⁶ In that respect the key objectives of the Cotonou Agreement are put into a frame that relates them all to sustainable development. The integration of ACP nations into the world economy, the increased political dialogue between the ACP and EU and good governance are given the purpose of pursuing sustainable development, which suggests that the EU understands sustainable development as an overarching concept and is attempting to adopt it as its guideline for development co-operation in the ACP.

Cotonou provides new innovations that provide measures for effective sustainable development. Cotonou introduces a new approach that allows new mechanisms and parties to be involved in the policy-development process. Non-state actors shall be involved in the development process²⁰⁷ and ACP nations shall determine their development strategies in sovereignty.²⁰⁸ Despite the positive sound of the innovation the sovereignty of ACP governments in determining development strategies and the demand by the EU for political and good governance may provide potential for disagreement and conflict. The principles that shall govern the EU-ACP relations as outlined in Article 2 include the equality of partners, the participation of central governments and non-state actors, open dialogue and differentiation as well as regionalisation.²⁰⁹ Thereby, the EU pays particular interest to the process of regionalisation in order to assist the integration of ACP economies into the global market. As an advance from the Lomé Conventions, the differentiation process was established to determine the priorities of co-operation according to the level of development of the individual ACP countries.²¹⁰ Together, these principles make an important contribution to the political dimension of the Cotonou Agreement and have the potential to govern both the national and international behaviours of the EU and the ACP.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ Dearden, 901.

²⁰⁶ Commission of the European Communities, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou 23 June 2000*, Art 9(3).

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, Art 4.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, Part II.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, Art 2.

²¹⁰ *Ibid* Art. 2.

²¹¹ Holland, 166.

While the political dimension in EU-ACP development cooperation relationship is a new innovation following the Lomé regime, the previous institutional structure was maintained. Thus, the Council of Ministers, the Committee of Ambassadors and the Joint Parliamentary Assembly remain in place and continue to form the three cooperative EU-ACP institutions.²¹² However, their co-operation will be subject to regular reviews under the Cotonou regime. The review of the Lomé Conventions had also shown a lack of institutional and policy context in the ACP partners. Thus, the viability and effectiveness of co-operation had often been undermined.

The major shift in the EU's policy-framework, however, has occurred in the economic provisions of the Cotonou Agreement. The non-reciprocal trade preferences for ACP countries under Lomé had often led to disappointing outcomes and ACP nations had to witness a decline in the share of the EU market from 6.7% in 1976 to 3% in 1998.²¹³ Cotonou has introduced a major change to the previous non-reciprocal and preferential trade regime. Under Cotonou, the emphasis of trade relations between the EU and the ACP is now on reciprocity and compatibility with WTO rules.²¹⁴ Thus, Article 34 of the Agreement states that "economic and trade cooperation shall be implemented in full conformity with the provisions of the WTO."²¹⁵ The new trade provisions of the Agreement are an attempt to qualify Cotonou as a free trade arrangement within the implications of Article XXIV(5) of GATT, which implies the compatibility of trade relations with WTO norms.²¹⁶ Thus the EU and ACP are transforming the Cotonou trading scheme into Free Trade Areas (FTAs)²¹⁷ in order to progressively remove trade barriers between the parties, which will allow for WTO compatibility.²¹⁸

Because the new economic regime of Cotonou is such a substantial element of the Agreement, it is important to understand the EU as a trading and development partner. In the ACP trade is a major part of development policy and the EU-ACP relationship continues to be a trade and aid co-operation. In September 2002, it was foreseen for negotiations to commence on Economic

²¹² *Ibid*, 165.

²¹³ Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, 157.

²¹⁴ Justice C. Nwobike, "The Emerging Trade Regime Under the Cotonou Partnership Agreement: Its Human Rights Implications," *Journal of World Trade* 40, no. 2 (April 2006), 294.

²¹⁵ European Commission, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou 23 June 2000*, Art. 34(4).

²¹⁶ Nwobike, 294.

²¹⁷ Romain Perez, "Are the Economic Partnership Agreements a First-best Optimum for the African Caribbean Pacific Countries?," *Journal of World Trade* 40, no. 6 (2006), 999.

²¹⁸ Nwobike, 294.

Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the EU and the Regional Economic Communities of the ACP countries. Nonetheless, EPAs remain in the process of negotiation. For this process the ACP was divided into six regions including the Pacific group as well as the Caribbean, and several African groups.²¹⁹ On 1 January 2008 the EPAs were supposed to replace the existing preferences, while improvements in aid mechanisms are intended to expand the access of ACP exporters to the European market. The EPAs can however, establish a 12 year transitional period that will last until 2020, the year when Cotonou ends its term. In addition, Article 37(7) of the Cotonou Agreement outlines that EPA negotiations will be flexible and contain reviews of the rules of origin and the asymmetrical dismantlement of tariffs.²²⁰

Critics of the advancing EPA regime fail to see the benefits and contribution it will pay to poverty reduction. While on a positive note this progress could result in the liberalisation of ACP sub-regions, the enhancement of economic reforms and the improvement in ACP government credibility²²¹, critics fear that reciprocal trade liberalisation between developed and developing nations can be a threat to poverty reduction and development. Perez concludes that ACP exporters, who already enjoy the benefits of near duty free access to the European market, will not be able to significantly increase their exports on the liberalised market. However, the shares of European exports will largely increase on the ACP market.²²² At the centre of the controversy therefore, lies the concern over the impact that a liberalised and WTO compatible market would have on the countries of the ACP.

The most relevant provision that Cotonou makes to integrate sustainability and environmental concerns into development policy is found in Section 4 of the Agreement. The section is titled *thematic and cross-cutting issues* and covers gender issues (Art. 31), environment and natural resources (Art. 32) and institutional development and capacity building (Art. 33). According to the Agreement, every development programme or strategy that is pursued must take into consideration these three objectives and the effects that programmes may have upon them.²²³ In the context of this research, Article 32 on the environment and natural resources relates directly

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, 295.

²²⁰ European Commission, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou 23 June 2000*, Art 37(7).

²²¹ Perez, 1000.

²²² *Ibid*, 1015.

²²³ Dearden, 902.

to the framework of this study. It introduces environmental concerns into development policy for ACP countries. Recognising environmental aspects in the Cotonou Agreement makes a significant contribution to successfully integrating sustainable development.

Cooperation on environmental protection and sustainable utilisation and management of natural resources shall aim at mainstreaming environmental sustainability into all aspects of development cooperation...²²⁴

This provision illustrates that in this Agreement, the EU recognises the multi-dimensional approach that needs to be adopted in order to achieve sustainable development. Furthermore, it highlights that the EU recognises the environmental pillar of sustainable development. In the pursuit of poverty reduction it must include the sustainable management of natural resources. In labelling environmental management a cross-cutting issue, the Cotonou Agreement requires that in development co-operation, the sustainable use of natural resources must be taken into consideration in all aspects of development cooperation. Article 32 therefore makes a crucial provision to contribute successfully to the sustainable development of ACP countries. The economic and social development co-operation that the EU delivers to Tonga must not have detrimental effects on the environment and consider the sustainable use of natural resources. In the case study is therefore essential to examine the consideration of environmental aspects in the development frameworks and fund allocations for Tonga.

The revision of the Cotonou Agreement has made a number of new provisions including the further pursuit of achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which relate in several ways to sustainable development. In February 2005, the negotiations surrounding the first revision of the Cotonou Agreement were concluded and signed in June of that year. The revised sections of the Agreement include the political dimension, the strategies for development and the investment facilities and procedures.²²⁵ The political element of Cotonou was extended in 2005 to include a number of additional features. Thus, the fight against terrorism is now legally part of

²²⁴ European Commission, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou 23 June 2000*, Art. 32.

²²⁵ Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, 157.

the Cotonou Agreement, as well as the non-distribution of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). The role of the International Court of Justice shall be strengthened and supported and increased contribution shall be paid to achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In addition, Cotonou now provides that despite the failure of partner countries to comply with the political provisions of the Agreements, the development co-operation can now also be discontinued in the case of involvement in the distribution of WMDs by partner countries.²²⁶

An important contribution in the revised Cotonou Agreement was made to the objectives of development strategies. Previously, the focus had been on the management of the HIV/AIDS virus in line with the MDGs. This strategy was extended to include all poverty related illnesses, especially Malaria and Tuberculosis, which continue to threaten the lives of many people in the ACP regions. In the procedures of development co-operation, a number of new objectives have been moved to the centre of attention. According to the 2005 Cotonou revision, development shall be based on greater flexibility in the distribution of goods, on increased coherency between the various regional programmes as well as the improved management of finances during crisis and conflict situations.²²⁷

4.4 The Consensus on Development

A constructivist change of norms is evident in international development co-operation that moves towards sustainable development. In the Cotonou Partnership Agreement the first change of norms in development policy towards sustainable development can be seen. As outlined previously the Agreement pursues sustainability in development co-operation, which highlights a constructivist spread of norms. The knowledge and understanding of ecological behaviour, as

²²⁶ *Ibid*, 158.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, 157.

(Original) Die erste Revision des Partnerschafts-Abkommens von Cotonou fand 2005 statt. Die Verhandlungen dazu wurden im Februar 2005 abgeschlossen; die Unterzeichnung erfolgte im Juni. Die Revision bedarf noch der Ratifizierungen. Die revidierten Passagen des Abkommens betreffen die Bereiche politische Dimension, Entwicklungsstrategien, die Investitionsfazilität und die Verfahren. Im Bereich der politischen Dimension wurde das Abkommen um Klauseln zur Bekämpfung des Terrorismus, zur Nichtverbreitung von Massenvernichtungswaffen, zur Stärkung des Internationalen Strafgerichtshofs und zu den Millenniums-Entwicklungszielen ergänzt. Wenn ein Vertragspartner sich an einer Verbreitung von Massenvernichtungswaffen beteiligt, können nun ebenfalls die Regelungen zu einer Aussetzung der Zusammenarbeit greifen.

Haas outlines, has resulted in new patterns of international environmental governance and it can be seen in the Cotonou Agreement that the sustainable management of natural resources is now an over-arching issue in development policy. The spread of such norms can lead to new interests and the change of behaviours.²²⁸ While sustainable development remains a disputed concept, it is evident that sustainability has spread as a new norm in development co-operation internationally. This spread has led to new interests of parties and their intentions are to move towards sustainability in international development assistance.

The EU's response to the changing norms in international development co-operation is the Consensus on Development that was jointly signed by the Commission, the EP and the CM in 2005. After nearly 50 years of European efforts, the European Consensus on Development now provides the first joint declaration for development policy that is politically binding for future policy-making by the Commission and member states. What makes the Consensus unique is the adherence by the EP and the reference it makes to recent international Agreements and institutions of development assistance. The Consensus is a crucial element in incorporating sustainable development into EU development policy that provides a new bureaucratic platform whereby all actors who are signatory to the consensus agree on the new norms for development co-operation. According to the constructivist argument outlined in previous chapters, such a platform can gain momentum and lead to the internalisation of new norms by actors.²²⁹

In a constructivist policy analysis the Consensus on Development provides a unitary bureaucratic platform. It is signed jointly by the EP the Council and the Commission and provides a new common objective for EU development co-operation at the Union and member-state level:

The Member States and the Community are equally committed to basic principles, fundamental values and the development objectives agreed at the multilateral level. Our efforts at coordination and harmonisation must contribute to increasing aid effectiveness. ...the European Consensus on Development provides, for the

²²⁸ Elgström, 459.

²²⁹ *Ibid*, 460.

first time, a common vision that guides the action of the EU, both at its Member States and Community levels, in development co-operation.²³⁰

The document is divided into two parts. In “Part I: the EU vision of development”, the Consensus outlines the objectives, principles, values, policy coherence, and commitments of the common vision for European development cooperation. The common vision for development co-operation that the Consensus provides is a statement that illustrates how the EU understands the concept of sustainable development and is willing to put it into practice.

The primary and overarching objective of EU development cooperation is the eradication of poverty in the context of sustainable development, including the pursuit of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).²³¹

This objective is similar to that outlined in Article one of the Cotonou Agreement. However, it dismisses the economic element of development co-operation. Thus, an important shift in norms occurs in the Consensus that puts the emphasis of development policy on sustainable development in order to achieve the eradication of poverty.

In the Consensus, the EU shows a thorough understanding of the concept that is similar to the approach to sustainable development that is outlined in this research. With reference to the established theoretical framework the EU appears to understand sustainability in an appropriate manner. Most importantly, the Consensus uses the eradication of poverty to set the agenda for its development policy. The needs of the poor have been outlined as the motivation for the research question. It is the development that addresses these needs that should be pursued internationally. As stated by Adams and confirmed in the Consensus, the eradication of poverty and needs of the poor should set the agenda for policy-making.²³²

²³⁰ European Parliament, Council and Commission, “Consensus on Development,” *Official Journal of the European Union* (2006): Part I, Art. 3. http://ec.europa.eu/development/policies/consensus_en.cfm.

²³¹ *Ibid*, Part I, Art. 5.

²³² Adams, 9.

Moreover, the Consensus outlines sustainable development as a multi-dimensional concept, similar to that of “sustainable societies”. Overton summarises his interpretation of sustainable development as a combination of elements, whereby a sustainable society uses natural resources to improve social and economic wellbeing without compromising the environment.²³³ Such an approach has been identified as an appropriate interpretation of sustainable development and can be found to a certain extent in the Consensus on Development:

We reaffirm that development is a central goal by itself; and that sustainable development includes good governance, human rights and political, economic, social and environmental aspects.²³⁴

The Consensus is a significant step towards fully integrating sustainable development and accepting it as a new norm in development co-operation. It addresses many of the issues that are surrounding the debate of sustainability in international development co-operation and provides new guidelines for EU policy-making. The Consensus does not address specifically the economy-environment conflict that is outlined in this research as a crucial factor in the successful implementation of sustainable development. It does however address issues of environmental protection, quality of life and futurity, which are core elements to implementing sustainability.²³⁵ Thus, the Consensus provides new moral norms and guidelines in the process of changing interests and behaviour in development co-operation.

In “Part II: The European Community development policy”, the Consensus outlines how the objectives of the first section are to be operationalised at Community level.²³⁶ The Part II section of the European Consensus on Development highlights the advantages of a joint declaration between the CM²³⁷, the EP and the Commission, which is primarily the move towards policy coherence, which has the potential to pay an important contribution to the policies of various actors as well as the coherence of various policies and their impacts on social and physical environments. Further advantages include the global presence of the Community, the ability to

²³³ Overton, 7.

²³⁴ European Parliament, Council and Commission, Part I, Art. 7.

²³⁵ Jacobs, 26-27.

²³⁶ European Parliament, Council and Commission, C46/8.

²³⁷ Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, 152.

harmonise and co-ordinate development policy and the growing role of democratisation and civil society in the development process.

4.5 Mainstreaming the Environment and Sustainability into EU Development Policy

Other contributions to the successful pursuit of sustainable development through EU development policy have been made by the attempts to mainstream environmental and sustainability concerns. Mainstreaming is an important process in implementing adequate measures for sustainable development in EU development policy. Article 20(2) of the Cotonou Agreement declares that the cross-cutting issues of gender equality, environmental issues and institutional capacity shall be mainstreamed into all development efforts.²³⁸ This process allows new bureaucratic practices to be established, which may further contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga and the PACP. The number of Commission Papers on mainstreaming sustainability and environmental issues into EC development co-operation highlight clearly that these norms are progressively more integrated into EU development policy. The process of mainstreaming indicates the Union's understanding of the problems surrounding sustainable development. Particular attention is paid to the conflict of integrating economic growth and environmental management. This conflict is prominent in the debates surrounding the concept of sustainable development. Addressing the issue is an important step in EU development policy to successfully contributing to the sustainable development of ACP countries. As a significant contribution to the successful implementation of measures for sustainable development the Commission Papers provide operational guidelines that address the issue. The process of mainstreaming as well as the recently signed Consensus on Development thus provide new mechanisms that may effectively assist the implementation of sustainable development in ACP countries including Tonga.

A significant development in integrating sustainability and environmental management into EU development policy is the notion of mainstreaming. Article 20(2) of the Cotonou Agreement introduces the principle of mainstreaming to the cross-cutting issues of the Agreement:

²³⁸ Commission of the European Communities, *ACP-EU Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou on 23 June 2000*, Art. 20(2).

Systematic account shall be taken in mainstreaming into all areas of cooperation the following thematic or cross-cutting themes: gender issues, environmental issues and institutional development and capacity building.²³⁹

Under Cotonou, these objectives must be considered in all development programmes and strategies.²⁴⁰ Elgström's study of the mainstreaming of gender issues in EU development policy makes an important contribution to this research. From a constructivist perspective, the process of mainstreaming allows establishing new bureaucratic practices and their internalisation by actors.²⁴¹ In addition to the Consensus on Development, the process of mainstreaming highlights the EU's attempt to fully integrate sustainable development as a new norm of development policy. According to constructivist theory, the emphasis in mainstreaming is on the role of agency where moral inspirations can lead to a spread of norms that may result in the change of behaviours.²⁴²

A number of EU documents on the process of mainstreaming sustainable development into economic and development co-operation highlight very clearly the moral inspirations that are intended to change norms and interests in EU development policy. Furthermore, they provide the guidelines on how to put sustainability and environmental management into policy and practice. The Commission Staff working paper on "integrating the environment into EC economic and development co-operation" outlines that:

a healthy environment is fundamental to the quality of life of current and future generations. (...) This means not only that specific environmental initiatives should be supported but also that environmental aspects should be integrated into all existing instruments and programmes.²⁴³

²³⁹ European Commission, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou 23 June 2000*, Art 20(2).

²⁴⁰ Dearden and Salama, 902.

²⁴¹ Elgström, 460.

²⁴² *Ibid*, 459.

²⁴³ Commission of the European Communities, "Integrating the Environment into EC Economic and Development Co-operation," *Commission Staff Working Paper*, SEC(2001) 609 (Brussels, 10 April 2001), p. 4, http://www.environment-integration.org/EN/E12a_DevelopmentCooperation.htm.

This statement addresses the issue that is raised by Adams, which argues that poverty is as much a cause as an effect of environmental degradation. It incorporates the ideas of sustainable development and acknowledges that a healthy environment is essential to the quality of life. This statement recognises that sustainability is an overarching concept that needs to be incorporated into all aspects of development policy and marks the importance of policy compatibility. In the struggle of combining economic and environmental development sustainably, policy compatibility becomes a crucial factor and is marked as criteria for the successful implementation of sustainable development.

Knowledge plays an important role in the policy-making process.²⁴⁴ That is a driving idea in constructivist policy analysis. In November 2000, the Commission and Council of Ministers endorsed a Development Policy Declaration that outlines six themes of priority in development co-operation: Trade and development, regional integration and co-operation, support to macro-economic policies linked to social sector programmes, transport, sustainable rural development and the rule of law.²⁴⁵ In the mainstreaming process, the EU appears to understand the scope of sustainability in development that is truly overarching. Among the six thematic priorities it is declared that the environment is a cross-cutting issue that needs to be integrated into all themes in order to make development sustainable.²⁴⁶ The knowledge that sustainability needs to be incorporated into all aspects of development is crucial in the pursuit of sustainable development. In mainstreaming environmental aspects and sustainability into development policy, the EU incorporates this knowledge.

The constructivist rise of new norms in EU development policy is clearly evident in the Cotonou Agreement and the Consensus on Development. According to Elgström, new norms can lead to new practices. The process of mainstreaming highlights how the EU attempts to turn sustainable development into practice.²⁴⁷ This process is therefore crucial in the successful pursuit of sustainable development in ACP countries. The Cotonou Agreement outlines as its objective the

²⁴⁴ Haas, 587.

²⁴⁵ Council of Ministers and Commission, "Development Policy Declaration," *Council Document* 13458/00 (2000), [http://inweb18.worldbank.org/essd/envext.nsf/41ByDocName/EuropeanCommunityDevelopmentPolicyMainstreamingtheEnvironment200233KBPDF/\\$FILE/CEAWorkshopECmainstreamingEnvironment2000.pdf](http://inweb18.worldbank.org/essd/envext.nsf/41ByDocName/EuropeanCommunityDevelopmentPolicyMainstreamingtheEnvironment200233KBPDF/$FILE/CEAWorkshopECmainstreamingEnvironment2000.pdf).

²⁴⁶ Commission of the European Communities, "Integrating the Environment into EC Economic and Development Co-operation," 12.

²⁴⁷ Elgström, 460.

integration of ACP states into the global economy, yet, the economic objective is accompanied by the aim of eradicating poverty in line with sustainable development. The Cotonou Agreement puts sustainable development into an economic context. In doing so it addresses the conflict of economy-environment integration. The process of mainstreaming is vital in this conflict as it serves to integrate sustainable environmental management into economic and development co-operation policies.

Article 12 of the Cotonou Agreement provides the legal obligation for policy coherence by the Community.²⁴⁸ Most important to the context of this research is therefore the Commission Staff Working Paper on “integrating the environment into EC economic and development cooperation”. The paper dedicates section 4.4 to “Coherence with Other EC Policies”. This section attends directly to the issue of policy complementarity and is crucial to the economy-environment conflict in sustainable development. The first point of the section is avoiding negative environmental and other impacts of EC policies on developing countries. Hence, the Commission is obligated to try to ensure that negative economic, social and environmental effects of EC policies are avoided.²⁴⁹ The Paper also provides a number of operational guidelines for the successful integration of sustainability into EU development co-operation, which further highlights the attempt to effectively practice sustainable development co-operation.

The attempts of mainstreaming sustainable development by the EU highlight that the Union does understand the conflicts surrounding the concept and tries to address them. The mild ecological approach to sustainable development has been outlined as an appropriate measure to achieving sustainability in development co-operation. This method raises particular attention to the conflict of integrating economic and environmental issues in development policy. In the points raised above, it is evident that the EU understands this conflict and raises particular attention to policy coherence. Furthermore, it provides specific operational guidelines on how to pursue sustainable development. In theory therefore, the EU has a good understanding of the concept of sustainable development and how to effectively integrate it into development policy. Whether the EU is

²⁴⁸ Commission of the European Communities, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou 23 June 2000*, Art 12.

²⁴⁹ Commission of the European Communities, “Integrating the Environment into EC Economic and Development Co-operation,” 20.

equally successful in implementing sustainable development in the PACP and Tonga, determines whether the EU does in fact contribute to the sustainable development of the country.

4.5 The Regional Framework for EU-PACP Co-operation

To effectively answer the research question it is important to investigate what EU development policies operate in the PACP. The Cotonou Agreement provides new mechanism for the successful pursuit of sustainable development in Pacific Island countries. After establishing how sustainable development provides new norms in EU development policy, this research intends to investigate how effectively the EU addresses the sustainable development of Pacific Islands. Part II of the Agreement makes the provision to allow other parties to be involved in the policy-making process. Non-state actors shall be involved and nations shall determine their development strategies in sovereignty.²⁵⁰ After establishing a framework for sustainable development from a Pacific perspective, this mechanism provides the basis for adopting policies that integrate and address the framework directly. Such an approach provides a basis for appropriate strategies for sustainable development that evolve around local knowledge and needs. Local knowledge can make a significant contribution to effectively identifying and addressing measures for sustainability. In that respect, the Cotonou Agreement creates a policy-framework that provides for the integration of national strategies and local expertise.

Primary research in Fiji however has revealed that regional proposals are not necessarily taken into account by the EU policy-making process. It was found that during recent EPA negotiations the regional proposals were dismissed entirely by the EU. An interview with the civil society organisation PANG revealed that the local agenda for regional development was entirely dismissed during EPA negotiations in the PACP. Pacific representatives had followed democratic process to constitute innovative proposals for EPA negotiations. The proposals represented Pacific interests and were WTO compatible. Their intentions had been to establish a pro-development relationship rather than a pure free trade agreement.²⁵¹ However, the EU showed no

²⁵⁰ Commission of the European Communities, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou 23 June 2000*, Part II.

²⁵¹ Roshni Sami and Wes Morgan, Coordinator and IEC Officer, *Pacific Network on Globalisation*, interviewed in Suva, 2008.

interest in the proposal and dismissed the Pacific input into EPA negotiations.²⁵² While the process of EPA negotiations does not relate directly to this study, this finding has a number of implications in this research.

The Cotonou Agreement makes a number of innovations towards the successful pursuit of sustainable development. However, the problem of policy coherency often causes a conflict in adopted measures. The dismissal of Pacific input into the negotiations of EPAs signifies that the Cotonou Agreement does not necessarily provide appropriate measures for states to design their development strategies in sovereignty. As a consequence, the Cotonou Agreement does not guarantee that future negotiations of regional and national development strategies will take into consideration the local expertise. This can be a major obstacle to the successful sustainable development of the region.

The result of such inconsistencies has been that the EU is perceived variously throughout Pacific elites. As a development actor and trading partner, the EU has had many implications in the PACP. The impacts on the perceptions of the EU have been numerous. It was found in elite interviews in Fiji that the EU was described as a neo-colonial power²⁵³ on one side by the heads of civil society organisation PANG. On the other side it was perceived as a representative of motherhood by the head of civil society organisation PIANGO.²⁵⁴ The main difference between the two organisations is that PANG operates through independent funding while PIANGO is in the process of applying for funds from the EU. This type of relationship was summarised by an anonymous interviewee from the PIF who expressed that “it’s about money”.²⁵⁵ The EU has spent € 95 million over six years, which makes it the most important player in the Pacific followed closely by Australia. As long as these finances run into the region, the EU-PACP relations remain good with a general attitude of “money changes everything”.²⁵⁶ It is thus evident that the EU-PACP relationship is a predominantly financial one. In that respect, it becomes crucial to analyse the allocation of funds as well as the policy for development co-operation between the EU and Tonga.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ Bakanebo Tamaroa, Executive Director, *Pacific Islands Association of Non Governmental Organisations*, interviewed in Suva, 2008.

²⁵⁵ Anonymous Pacific Islands Forum Representative, Pacific Islands Forum, interviewed in Suva, 2008.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

The EU predominantly delivers development assistance in form of funds. In light of the financial relationship of development co-operation between the EU and PACP, the EDF presents an adequate factor for measuring how the Union contributes towards the sustainable development of Tonga. It was decided in 2005 by the European Council that the EDF shall remain the primary source of co-operation funding for ACP countries.²⁵⁷ It has been established that the problem of policy coherency can lead to inconsistencies in the implementation of EU development policies. It is therefore necessary to investigate the policies as well as the allocation of funds from the EU in Tonga. The CSPs for Tonga provide the objectives for development co-operation. They outline the development policies in place and are important in analysing how sustainable development is providing new norms for development policy. The NIPs outline the allocation of funds within each EDF five-year time period. The NIPs are therefore necessary in analysing how effectively the development policy is implemented. This analysis provides new perspectives on how effectively the norms of sustainable development are turning into practice.

The case study is placed within a regional context of EU-PACP co-operation. The objectives that were outlined by the EU in the Pacific RSP of EDF nine were the regional economic integration and the development of human resources and the fisheries sector.²⁵⁸ Moreover, the RSP stated that the guiding principles for development co-operation were in accordance with Article 177 of the Treaty establishing the EC, which are confirmed in the Cotonou Agreement. The process of regional integration is intended to assist the achievement of several objectives: the gradual integration of ACP states into the world economy; accelerated economic cooperation within and between regions; the free movement of goods and services; the diversification of ACP states; the harmonisation of regional and sub-regional co-operation policies; and expanding inter and intra-ACP trade.²⁵⁹

The focus of the EU-PACP regional relationship as it was established in the RSP of EDF nine is predominantly economic. In line with the EPA negotiations, the focus of regional co-operation

²⁵⁷ Commission of the European Communities, "Annual Report on the European Community's Development Policy and the Implementation of External Assistance in 2006," 6.

²⁵⁸ Commission of the European Communities, "Pacific ACP – European Community. Regional Strategy Paper and Regional Indicative Programme: 2002-2007," *The 9th European Development Fund* (2002): 5.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 6.

was on the economic integration of the PACP. The objective of integrating the ACP into the world economy is stated in Article 1 of the Cotonou Agreement; however, the strategy does little to integrate sustainable development into co-operation efforts. The three pillars of sustainable development are addressed unequally in the RSP and RIP. The focal sectors of the RIP address primarily the economic pillar. The first sector for fund allocations focuses on the regional economic integration and trade support. The subsequent focal sector, human resource development, addresses the social pillar of development with a focus on providing enhanced basic education.²⁶⁰ The third sector of the RIP is fisheries development. In the focal sectors for development co-operation, the RIP addresses the economic and social sectors of development. However, sustainable development is not stated directly as a target in the regional EU co-operation with PACP countries and the environmental pillar of sustainable development is not directly addressed in the regional development framework between 2002 and 2007.

The policy framework of regional co-operation between the EU and PACP during EDF nine does little to integrate the norm of sustainable development. The policy does adopt sustainability as a direct objective. Nevertheless, the RIP did additionally fund a number of projects concerned with the environmental management of the region. Financial assistance was granted to a number of projects including the Development of Sustainable Agriculture (DSAP), the Plant Protection Programme (PPP), and the Pacific Environmental Information Network (PEIN).²⁶¹ It is therefore evident in the regional co-operation between the EU and PACP, that to some extent each of the three pillars of sustainable development were addressed through EDF funding. However, the economic development of the region has been the main objective in the development framework and the pillars of sustainable development were unequally addressed. The focus on the economic development and integration of the PACP may have been largely due to the occurring EPA negotiations of the time. Nonetheless, the RSP and RIP did not provide an adequate framework for the successful integration and pursuit of sustainable development in the PACP region.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 29.

²⁶¹ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," *The 10th European Development Fund* (2008): 17.

4.6 EU Co-operation in Tonga

After establishing the EU development policy framework for the PACP, the case study provides a specific example of EU development co-operation in the Pacific Islands country Tonga. This case study analyses in detail the funds the EU provides under the ninth and tenth EDF. The comparison of the two allows for an analysis of the progression of the EU development framework for the country. This longitudinal approach is particularly relevant in the constructivist analysis of EU development policy. As established in the theoretical framework of this research, the constructivist idea of mainstreaming sustainable development can lead to new norms in development policy. It is the aim of this case study to examine whether such a process is evident in EU development policy in Tonga. The analysis of the two EDFs between 2002 and 2013 shows how effectively sustainable development is becoming a new norm in EU development policy and co-operation.

The national Country Strategy Papers (CSP) and Indicative Programmes (CIP) for Tonga show what objectives the EU pursues in bilateral development policies of EDF finances. The limited scope of this research requires the specified analysis that is provided in this case study. The focus is the bilateral relation between the EU and Tonga as a representative of PACP countries. The RIP that is outlined above shows the regional framework between 2002 and 2007 for development co-operation between the EU and PACP. This framework is based largely on the objective of economic integration of PACP countries. However, the detailed analysis of EU co-operation in Tonga between EDF nine and ten provides the necessary information to address the research question adequately. The analysis focuses primarily on the development objectives the EDF provides and the fund allocations in the given time periods. This allows for a detailed investigation of the EU development co-operation in Tonga, as provided for in the Cotonou Agreement. The results of this case study show how effectively the EU integrates measures for sustainable development into the bilateral framework for co-operation with Tonga and how it implements such measures in practice. The results therefore provide new perspectives on how successfully the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga.

The CSP and NIP set the agenda for development co-operation for each five-year EDF timeframe. These frameworks are designed for all ACP countries in accordance with the Cotonou

Agreement.²⁶² Hence, they are co-authored by EU and ACP authorities to determine the broad social, political and economic context for development co-operation.²⁶³ The CSP assesses the past and present levels of EC co-operation in the country and suggests appropriate response strategies. The NIP then outlines in detail the distribution of funds and their allocations in the various focus sectors.²⁶⁴ Within EDF nine and ten the two Strategy Papers show many similarities, yet a number of distinctions are found that contribute to the progress of successfully integrating sustainable development into the co-operation framework between the EU and Tonga.

European Development Fund 9

Similar to the regional framework of EDF nine, the CSP does little to integrate sustainable development into its policy framework. The objectives of EDF nine are based on Article 177 of the Treaty establishing the EC and Article 1 of the Cotonou Agreement. Furthermore, the CSP outlines a number of focus areas for EU development co-operation in Tonga. These areas are concerned primarily with the economic development of the country: the link between trade and development, regional integration; support for macro-economic policies; transport; food security and sustainable rural development; institutional capacity; good governance and the rule of law.²⁶⁵ The objectives for EC co-operation in Tonga do not however, dismiss the cross-cutting thematic issues provided in Article 20 of the Cotonou Agreement. The mainstreaming of gender equality, environmental management and institutional capacity building are part of the agenda of EU development co-operation under EDF nine.²⁶⁶

The response strategy for EU co-operation that the CSP of EDF nine adopts is based on the social sector of development. The strategy does not support the macroeconomic development of the country and focuses entirely on investments in the social sector including education, health and public utilities. The objective of social sector investments however, is to create a favourable

²⁶² Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 2.

²⁶³ Amelia Hadfield, "Janus Advances? An Analysis of EC Development Policy and the 2005 Amended Cotonou Partnership Agreement," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 44.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2002-2007," 2.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

environment for private sector economic development. The focus for EU co-operation remained in the Vava'u group of islands.²⁶⁷ As medium term challenges the CSP identified that Tonga needs to boost its economy through growth and integration. This would lead to further improvements in the quality of life for the Tongan population.²⁶⁸ In this framework the EU adopts the belief that social sector development will result in economic growth, which will improve living standards and assist the eradication of poverty.²⁶⁹ This approach to development incorporates two pillars of sustainable development: addressing the social pillar would lead to improvements of the economic pillar. In the objectives for future co-operation the response strategy declares “it is understood that cross-cutting themes (such as gender issues, environment protection, institution building) will be taken into consideration...”²⁷⁰ The CSP therefore addresses the social and economic pillars directly and recognises the need to consider environmental concerns according the Article 20 of the Cotonou Agreement.

The funds within EDF nine were allocated exclusively to the social sector development of Tonga. The Cotonou Agreement outlines in Annex IV that the allocation of resources comprises two elements. Envelope A, the first element, covers programmes in the support of focal and non-focal areas of community assistance, macroeconomic support and social policies. The second element, envelope B, covers unforeseen needs such as emergency assistance.²⁷¹ The NIP allocated a total of € 3.7 million in the A-envelope and € 2 million in the B-envelope as outlined in Annex IV of the Cotonou Agreement. The A-allocation of funds was designated entirely to the social sector development of the Vava'u group. Importantly, the NIP did not foresee any direct macroeconomic support nor was it concerned with the environmental management of the country. The objective of the A-envelope funds was to improve life in Tonga through improved basic social services. The intervention programme of the NIP outlined the expected results to be fully operational schools, repaired and well equipped health facilities and the well-organised collection and disposal of solid waste.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 13.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 16-17.

²⁷¹ European Commission, *EU-ACP Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou 23 June 2000*, Annex IV, Article 3.

²⁷² Commission of the European Communities, “Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2002-2007,” 20.

Consequently, the allocation of funds had implications on the economic and environmental sectors of Tonga's development. Despite the direct funding of the social sector, the EDF funds affected the economic and environmental development of the country too. It was outlined in the CSP that social sector development was necessary to improve Tonga's environment for private sector investments. Such investments would improve Tonga's economic development. The social sector would therefore enable economic growth. The problems of pollution and waste disposal have been outlined previously as two of Tonga's major challenges in environmental management. Assisting the disposal and treatment of solid waste addresses the social sector in Tonga by alleviating health risks through pollution and disease. Additionally, it addresses environmental concerns and contributes to the adequate management of Tonga's environment. While the framework that the NIP established was based purely on the social sector of development, its implications were addressing economic and environmental concerns accordingly.

Similar to the regional framework of EDF 9, the CSP and NIP did little to incorporate sustainable development into the objectives for development co-operation. However, rather than focusing on the economic development of Tonga, the bilateral framework established objectives for the social development of the country. The response strategy of EDF nine for Tonga relates directly to the social pillar of concerns that is established in the regional framework for sustainable development. EDF nine has funded the development of Tonga's education and health systems, which are necessary elements in the sustainable development of the Pacific region. The environmental pillar was also directly addressed in the CIP through waste management. Economic growth was addressed indirectly as one of the targets of the development framework. The CSP and CIP of EDF nine therefore address a number of measures that are established in the regional framework of Pacific requirements for sustainability.

A number of the national strategies for sustainable development are also addressed in EDF nine. The Strategic Development Plan 8 adopts an approach that is based on human welfare and a better quality of life for all Tongans.²⁷³ This approach is met by the CIP, which adopts as its overall objective the "improved quality of life in Tonga (Vava'u)".²⁷⁴ In accordance with the

²⁷³ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 35.

²⁷⁴ Commission of the European Communities, "Pacific ACP – European Community. Regional Strategy Paper and Regional Indicative Programme: 2002-2007," 20.

targets set out in Tonga's Development Plan, EDF nine addresses three of its objectives directly. The Plan outlines as its goal the promotion of sustained private-sector led economic growth.²⁷⁵ This target is outlined in the CSP as the intention of social development. Additionally, Tonga's Strategy Plan identifies education and health standards as requirements for sustainable development. In line with the regional framework for sustainability these social sector strategies were financed through envelope A. The CSP and CIP of EDF nine have therefore addressed the social and environmental pillar of sustainable development directly, with the ambition of achieving economic development.

European Development Fund 10

The tenth EDF between 2008 and 2013 appears to make a number of contributions towards the successful integration of sustainable development into the EU co-operation framework for Tonga. EDF ten allocates a total of € 22.7 billion to ACP countries during that period. Importantly, the programming guidelines for EDF ten have been prepared on the basis of the 2005 Consensus on Development.²⁷⁶ As its objectives, the Tonga CSP outlines the

development of a common strategic approach to poverty reduction, consistent with the objectives of sustainable development and the gradual integration of ACP states into the world economy.²⁷⁷

This objective is in line with Article 177 of the Treaty establishing the EC and Article 1 of the Cotonou Agreement. Importantly, the CSP re-enforces the ownership of development strategies by Tonga and its people.²⁷⁸ Contradictory to the dismissal of Pacific proposals during EPA negotiations, EDF ten emphasises the input of local initiatives, which provides new prospects for sustainable development in Tonga. Additional to the objectives of the previous CSP, EDF ten adopts in its strategy for Tonga the policy framework that is established in the European

²⁷⁵ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 35.

²⁷⁶ Commission of the European Communities, "Annual Report on the European Community's Development Policy and the Implementation of External Assistance in 2006," 8.

²⁷⁷ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 5.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Consensus on Development. Therefore, the primary and overarching objective of EU development policy in Tonga is now the “eradication of poverty in the context of sustainable development”.²⁷⁹

EDF ten chooses a number of focus areas in which it has a comparative advantage to other development agencies. The areas in which the Community intends to be involved include: “trade and regionalisation; the environment and sustainable management of natural resources; infrastructure; agriculture and food security; governance, democracy, human rights and support for economic and institutional reforms; conflict prevention and fragile states; human development; social cohesion and employment”.²⁸⁰ The objectives that the CSP outlines also address the strengthened mainstreaming of cross-cutting issues, including good governance, gender equality, environmental sustainability, and the fight against HIV/AIDS.²⁸¹ The objectives that the CSP of EDF ten outlines address the concept of sustainability on a number of levels and make a major contribution to successfully integrating the concept into the co-operation framework between the EU and Tonga. This highlights new developments from EDF nine and appears to provide new agendas for development co-operation with a focus on sustainable development.

The response strategy that the EDF ten CSP delivers highlights further the integration and growing focus on sustainable development in EU co-operation with Tonga. A shift in response strategies is evident between EDF nine and ten, whereby the focus has moved from the social pillar to natural resource concerns. The CSP addresses Tonga’s Strategic Development Plan 8 directly and outlines that future co-operation shall take into consideration the provision of water and sanitation, the management of solid waste, coastal protection as well as ecologically sustainable tourism and renewable energy. The response strategy addresses goal seven of Tonga’s SDP 8, which is to ensure environmental sustainability and disaster risk management. In that order, the CSP intends to foster the use of renewable forms of energy and safe access to drinking water.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 6.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*.

²⁸¹ *Ibid*.

²⁸² Commission of the European Communities, “Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013,” 19.

The objectives of the CSP incorporate a number of EU development frameworks. Despite the reference to the Consensus on Development the CSP addresses a new strategy for the strengthened partnership between the EU and PACP. In 2006 the Council adopted the Communication by the European Commission on “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands: A Strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”. This Communication sets out further objectives in EU relations with PACP countries. The targets of the strategy include broader political dialogues, a central theme of development co-operation that relates to the sustainable management of natural resources, and more efficient aid delivery.²⁸³ These themes integrate and strengthen the concept of sustainable development in EU development co-operation with Tonga. Most importantly, these objectives adopt an environmental focus, which provides a basis for the adequate integration of environmental concerns in the pursuit of sustainable development in Tonga.

The NIP for Tonga adopts a focus on the sustainable environmental management of the country. This is particularly relevant to the environmental perspective on sustainable development that is adopted in this research. The A-envelope allocates € 5 million to the focal sector of water and energy. The objectives of this sector are to develop access and use of renewable energy resources and improving the policy framework of the energy sector.²⁸⁴ The B-envelope of € 900,000 will cover unforeseen needs. For the successful implementation of the response strategy, the NIP requires the Tongan government to reform the overall management of the energy sector in order to balance the supply and conservation of energy resources. Furthermore, the Government of Tonga is required to promote the integration of sustainable development into its development policies.²⁸⁵ It is evident in the NIP that the policy framework for Tonga moves strongly towards integrating sustainable development and requiring both parties to do so in order to address the environmental pillar of development effectively.

A number of the concerns of sustainable development in the regional Pacific and national framework for sustainability are addressed directly in the CSP. The strategies for effective environmental development that are established in the regional framework for sustainability are concerned with the protection of natural resources, the improved institutional capacity and the

²⁸³ *Ibid*, 6.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 23.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 24.

mainstreaming of conservation issues. The CSP addresses these issues directly. The focus on renewable energy intends to decrease the pollution levels from greenhouse gas emissions. It intends also to decrease the risk of environmental pollution from oil transports, which the country heavily relies on.²⁸⁶ The response strategy of the CSP addresses the need for improved institutional capacity by offering technical support to the government of Tonga for strengthening its institutional capacity and reforming the management of its energy sector.²⁸⁷ More specifically, the NIP adopts the targets of Tonga's SDP 8 in its own objectives. Goal seven of the SDP is to "ensure environmental sustainability and disaster risk reduction".²⁸⁸ The CSP thus addresses directly the environmental requirement for sustainable development that is established in Tonga's SDP 8.

The NIP for Tonga has a number of impacts on the social and economic pillars of development too. The intervention framework of the NIP has the overall objective to improve social and economic development and to provide sustainable living conditions for Tongans.²⁸⁹ The purpose of its programme is to provide renewable energy that is cost-effective and to promote the efficient use of energy sources. The results will be lower electricity costs, a cleaner environment and increased public awareness of energy efficiency.²⁹⁰ With these objectives, the NIP addresses directly the environmental pillar of sustainable development. Furthermore, the strategies target increased participation at the community level as well as education and training programmes. Both of these aspects are elements of the social pillar of the regional framework for sustainable development. Economic development and macro-economic support remain excluded from the NIP. The impacts of environmental and social development however, can provide an adequate basis for economic growth and development.

In EDF ten the EU acknowledges its international interest and leadership in the sustainable management of natural resources. The environmental perspective of EDF ten should not be limited to Tonga. According to the CSP, the concerns of environmental management contribute also to the EU's regional assistance in the PACP. The Union identifies three rationales, which

²⁸⁶ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 20.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 23-24.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 19.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 26.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid*.

highlight that environmental management is strategically important throughout the Pacific and presents common interests in the PACP and the EU. Furthermore, environmental management is an area of European expertise.²⁹¹ It is therefore evident that the co-operation framework of EDF ten is making a major contribution towards integrating sustainable development into the framework of development policy. The EU understands itself as a leading actor in the management of global environmental resources. Therefore, the common interests of natural resource management can apply to the regional and national co-operation frameworks. The implications of EDF ten in Tonga therefore have a wider impact and provide new prospects in the national and regional development co-operation by the EU. These prospects are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

²⁹¹ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 19.

DOES THE EU CONTRIBUTE TO THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF TONGA AND THE PACP?

-Chapter 5-

5.1 Introduction and Chapter Outline

The analysis of EU development co-operation in Tonga between EDF nine and ten provides a number of results that are relevant in the discussion of this research. Chapter five summarises the findings of this research and discusses them in the established theoretical context. Relating political theory to the particular case allows a thorough understanding of the implications of the results. The concept of sustainable development is increasingly evident as a new norm for EU development policy in an international, regional and bilateral context. However, the consequent change in practices is not yet fully evident.

Each of the subquestions is addressed below. Chapter five begins by outlining an operational concept of sustainable development and announcing why it should be pursued. The chapter then moves on to outline the agenda for sustainable development in a Pacific context. Consequently, it discusses the EU's role in the sustainable development of the Pacific Islands with particular reference to the case of Tonga. The results of these discussions lead to the research question: does the EU contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga? A constructivist discussion and a cosmopolitan perspective provide new answers that highlight the contrast between theory and practice of EU development policy. Finally, a number of recommendations are made for future research and the future of EU policy-making and implementation.

5.2 Discussion

Why sustainable development?

“Sustainable development is the development that meets the needs of the present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”²⁹² In the past thirty years this objective has been firmly established in the international political arena for development, despite the numerous interpretations of this definition. The concept of sustainability is overarching and future oriented and sets the agenda for international development co-operation since the UNDP Rio Declaration on Environment and Development of 1992. With the EU-ACP Cotonou Partnership Agreement and the Consensus on Development 2005, sustainable development is increasingly manifest in EU development policy. As a major obstacle to the successful pursuit of sustainable development it has been identified that the concept provides a lot of room for interpretation as well as political and academic debate. This research therefore emphasises the need for a precise account of sustainable development to create a functional concept.

With the correct agenda, sustainable development provides an adequate mode of development that addresses the international concerns of resource depletion, climate variability and the growing levels of poverty internationally. Rather than a discrepancy, the contestation over the concept has been identified as the continuous struggle over the economic, social and environmental direction of development.²⁹³ This level of contestation provides the necessary room for improvements in international development policy. The agenda for sustainable development that is adopted in this research has been derived from Adams, according to whom the needs of the poor should set the agenda for development policy.²⁹⁴ This notion is confirmed in the objectives of the Consensus on Development to eradicate poverty in the context of sustainable development.²⁹⁵ This research adopts Adam’s notion that the needs of the poor and the improvement of human welfare in Tonga and the PACP must set the agenda for development co-

²⁹² ²⁹²World Commission on Environment and Development, 24.

²⁹³ Jacobs, 26.

²⁹⁴ Adams, 9.

²⁹⁵ European Parliament, Council and Commission, 1.

operation from the EU. This agenda provides an overarching objective of sustainable development.

The perspective from which the development co-operation framework between the EU and Tonga is analysed adopts a focus on the element of environmental management. It is acknowledged that true sustainable development entails several aspects. However, the scope of this research has led to the decision to adopt an environmental focus. Integrating environmental concerns into economic development is often the most challenging part of sustainable development, which contributes largely to adopting an environmental focus. The method is based on the ideas of the mild ecological approach to sustainable development. It involves the appropriate management of global environmental resources in order to increase productivity and meet basic human needs.²⁹⁶ While EU development policy acknowledges that the westernised mode of development is necessary²⁹⁷, this process should not have irreversible impacts on the environment in order to provide for future generations to enjoy the same privilege.²⁹⁸

For the successful pursuit of sustainable development it is necessary to establish an operational concept. Jacobs has identified six core elements to successfully operationalise and implement sustainable development: environment-economy integration; futurity; environmental protection; equity; quality of life; and participation. These elements establish a set of measurable criteria for the successful integration of sustainable development into EU development policy. In accordance with the mild ecological approach, these criteria adopt an environmental focus. The overarching objective of sustainable development remains to adequately address the needs of the poor and improve human well-being. The focus for measuring sustainable development in this research is on the environmental aspects of development co-operation between Tonga and the EU. It has been found that increasingly, EU development policy integrates the concept of sustainability into co-operation frameworks. The given elements establish a set of criteria for measuring the successful incorporation of sustainable development in EU development policy.

²⁹⁶ Overton, 4-9.

²⁹⁷ De la Court, 15.

²⁹⁸ Overton, 8.

The Pacific agenda for sustainable development

The agenda for sustainable development from the academic background has been broadened to establish a framework that is specific for the Pacific region. To successfully answer the research question it is necessary to establish the particular requirements for sustainable development from a Pacific perspective. This provides an adequate context for the case study Tonga. It is found that the approach to sustainable development by Pacific leaders also adopts a human welfare agenda. The goal of sustainable development that is pursued in the Pacific is to reduce poverty.²⁹⁹ Thereby, it addresses three pillars in sustainable development: the economic, the social, and the environmental pillar.³⁰⁰ Each of these elements needs to be addressed adequately and accordingly to achieve sustainable development. The framework that is established in this research identifies the common measures for each of the pillars and focuses on the environmental requirements for sustainable development in the Pacific.

The results show the various aspects that have commonly been identified as necessary measures within the three pillars of sustainable development. The economic strategies for sustainable development in Pacific island countries require improved trade and investment, effective infrastructure and private sector development.³⁰¹ The PIF Pacific Plan also outlines the regional integration and co-operation as a strategy for economic development.³⁰² The social pillar requires improved standards of the health and education systems, the advance of gender equality and the fostering of community participation.³⁰³ The environmental strategies for sustainable development in the Pacific seek to manage the natural environment adequately through the sustainable use of natural resources and mainstreaming environmental concerns into development progress.³⁰⁴ The last pillar is particularly relevant to the environmental focus of this research.

The Pacific environmental framework for sustainable development emphasises the concerns of natural resource management and conservation of the region. It is found that Pacific islands are

²⁹⁹ Yakabi, 270.

³⁰⁰ Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific International, *Action Strategy for Nature Conservation in the Pacific Islands Region, 2003-2007: Mainstreaming nature conservation*.

³⁰¹ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, "The Pacific Plan: for strengthening regional cooperation and integration," 3.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ Tadulala, *Issues Paper: Sustainable Development*.

³⁰⁴ Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme, *Strategic Programmes: 2004 – 2013*.

characterised by a number of commonalities that distinguish small islands from other nations in the pursuit of sustainable development. Tonga is a primary example of a Pacific Islands nation that is characterised by its small size, its remoteness from other major production centres, a high degree of dependency and great ecological vulnerability.³⁰⁵ The case study therefore provides an analysis of EU development co-operation in a Pacific context. Tonga shares a number of common concerns of Pacific sustainability that are established in the regional framework. This frame provides the adequate context for the case study that is necessary for the detailed and specified analysis of EU development policy within the scope of this research.

The objective for environmental management in the Pacific region is to protect natural resources in order to provide a base for social and economic development.³⁰⁶ In order to do so, the region requires an improvement of its institutional capacity and coordination as well as the integration and mainstreaming of environmental issues. The Pacific agenda adopts an overarching human-welfare approach that has been adopted from Adams in this research. Furthermore, the Pacific framework for sustainable development takes into account a number of the core elements that Jacobs outlines. In regard to integrating economic and environmental development Jacobs stresses the need to mainstream conservation concerns. This measure takes environmental protection into account. Moreover, the Pacific framework seeks the increased participation by the community and other non-state organisations. This is outlined by Jacobs as another core element to the successful pursuit of sustainable development.³⁰⁷ Integrating economic and environmental development, mainstreaming conservation concerns and increasing community participation are therefore the central objectives in the environmental pillar of sustainable development in the Pacific. This regional framework sets the agenda that EU development policy needs to address in order to successfully contribute to the sustainable development of the PACP and Tonga.

The Pacific framework for sustainable development provides an adequate context for the analysis of the case study. Tong shares many common characteristics of small Pacific Island countries. Moreover, the country shares several of the common concerns of sustainability in the region. It is found that increasingly the notion of sustainable development is evident in the national agenda for development. Tonga's SDP 8 establishes the objectives for the national development between

³⁰⁵ United Nations General Assembly, Annex I.

³⁰⁶ Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme, *Strategic Programmes: 2004 – 2013*.

³⁰⁷ Jacobs, 26-27.

2006-2009. Similar to the regional framework the Plan adopts a human welfare approach that expresses as its goal to achieve a better quality of life in Tonga.³⁰⁸ The ambitions for sustainable development that the Plan outlines address political, social, economic and environmental aspects of development. The strategies of the Tongan government to improve living standards are to pursue good governance, private sector led growth that is equitable and environmentally sustainable, improved education and health standards as well as cultural development.³⁰⁹ In the context of the regional framework for sustainable development these strategies address a number of common concerns. The economic goal to strengthen the private sector and the social ambition to improve education and health standards are consistent with the regional agenda. Importantly, the national framework also identifies environmental sustainability and disaster risk reduction as further requirements for the development of Tonga. It is evident therefore that Tonga's national development strategy adopts an approach that is characteristic of the Pacific agenda for sustainable development, whereby three pillars of development need to be addressed adequately.

It is evident that Tonga increasingly recognises environmental management as a key element to development. Many of the problems of development in Tonga are directly or indirectly related to environmental concerns and strategies of environmental management are necessary to sustain development efforts. Tonga's natural resources are under increased pressure by the fast growing urban areas. The over-harvesting of natural mangroves results in the fast erosion of coastal protection zones and the loss of natural habitat and biodiversity. The concerns of predicted sea level rise and increasingly occurring cyclones are particularly relevant to the population that is vulnerable to such events. Nuku'alofa, the capital and largest urban settlement of the country is particularly vulnerable on the lowest point of the island. Most of Tonga's natural vegetation has been converted into agricultural land or urban settlements. The reefs and lagoons are experiencing problems of overexploitation of fish stock and the high levels of pollution and poor waste disposal continue to contribute to the environmental degradation of the country. The effects can be seen in the economic and social sectors of the country. A loss in natural resources leads to economic loss, subsistence loss and increasing health problems. The growing pressure on the land exposes the vulnerable to more risks of erosion and natural disasters. Adams emphasises that

³⁰⁸ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 12.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 35.

poverty is as much a cause as an effect of environmental degradation.³¹⁰ Therefore, it is necessary for Tonga's government to recognise the problems of natural depletion and to develop strategies that are based on the adequate and sustainable management of natural resources and the environment. Tonga's First National Report on Biodiversity pays an important contribution to identifying the problems of environmental management in the country. The recognition of the particular issues is crucial for developing adequate response strategies. The strategies for environmental management need to be integrated into Tonga's development efforts in order to adequately implement measures for the sustainable development of the country. Furthermore, the guidelines that have been established provide the necessary information for the EU to develop strategies to adequately integrate environmental management in order to achieve true sustainable development.

The EU's role in the sustainable development of Tonga

To answer the research question it is necessary to establish what the EU's role in the sustainable development of Tonga and the PACP is. The relationship of EU-Tonga co-operation has a number of obstacles to overcome in order to contribute to the sustainable development of the country. The European market only represents 1% of Tonga's trading operations. The development status of the country is relatively high compared to other ACP countries, while Tonga's contribution to the global market is limited by its small economy. Consequently, European economic interests are limited and development funds remain relatively low. Nonetheless, the EU has established a development framework for ACP nations that increasingly incorporates the concept of sustainable development. As outlined in the EDF ten response strategy of the CSP for Tonga, the EU identifies its "significant expertise" in the sustainable management of natural resources.³¹¹ Furthermore, the response strategy outlines that environmental management is strategically important in all Pacific Islands countries, which forms a common interest between the Pacific region and the EU.³¹² This statement highlights that the EU identifies its role as a leading actor in the international management of natural resources and adopts a leadership role in implementing sustainable development through environmental

³¹⁰ Adams, 9.

³¹¹ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 19.

³¹² *Ibid.*

management. This finding presents crucial evidence for a cosmopolitan leadership role that the EU accepts.

Cosmopolitan theory presents a philosophical approach rather than an analytical IR theory. The universal moral responsibility is an ideological incentive for development policy yet it is evident in the international pursuit of sustainable development and highlighted in the numerous international agreements on development and the environment. The EDF ten Strategy Paper for Tonga is of particular significance because it highlights the EU objective of establishing its cosmopolitan responsibility. The EU recognises its international role by stressing its knowledge and interest in managing natural resources sustainably.³¹³ With this statement and its signature to numerous agreements on sustainable development and environmental management, the EU indicates a role of leadership. This is evident in Article 177 of the Treaty establishing the EC. The article outlines as its objective the eradication of poverty through trade and aid co-operation,³¹⁴ which provides an important basis to EU development policy. The objective of improving human well-being is re-enforced in the Cotonou Agreement and indicates that the EU adopts a responsibility on the moral basis of reducing poverty internationally. As a development actor in Tonga the Union needs to adopt the moral responsibility for the people and future generations of Tonga. This cosmopolitan approach provides the adequate incentive for the EU to pursue sustainable development in Tonga.

In recognising its role in international development and the management of natural resources the EU adopts a cosmopolitan approach to the development of Tonga. The Union's objectives in the response strategy identify the sustainable management of natural resources as an important policy and a common interest of the EU and PACP.³¹⁵ Adopting the environmental management of Tonga into EU interests thus enables the cosmopolitan argument to be applied effectively. This interest is furthermore necessary in the constructivist analysis of the EU-Tonga cooperation framework. The cosmopolitan attitude in EU development policy offers an adequate incentive for the EU to pursue the sustainable development of Tonga. Cosmopolitanism requires a universal

³¹³ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 19.

³¹⁴ Commission of the European Communities, *Activities of the European Union: Summaries of Legislation: Treaty of Maastricht on European Union*.

³¹⁵ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 19.

moral concern. The EDF ten CSP identifies the sustainable environmental management of Tonga as an EU interest, which is necessary for the successful pursuit and implementation of the sustainable development of Tonga. This approach provides a basis for global distributive justice³¹⁶ and the moral responsibility for the EU to pursue the sustainable development of Tonga. The cosmopolitan concern that is increasingly evident in the international political arena is evident in EU development policy, which adopts a universal responsibility.

The research question requires the careful analysis of the EU's international development framework for the PACP region. This analysis shows that the Cotonou Agreement, which currently determines the EU-ACP relationship, provides a number of new innovations towards integrating sustainable development into its co-operation framework. The EDF remains the primary source for co-operation funding and is separately financed from the EU budget.³¹⁷ Hence, the frameworks of EDF nine and ten have been chosen as primary objects for analysis of the EU co-operation for Tonga. In applying constructivist political theory it has been found that a change in norms is evident in EU development policy. The knowledge and expertise on environmental management in Europe and internationally has led to new patterns of environment and development co-operation.³¹⁸ The new norms of sustainable development that are found in the international agenda for development co-operation can lead to new interests by actors and eventually change their behaviour.³¹⁹

Hopf identifies that in the constructivist analysis of international relations the interests of actors are consistent with their practices.³²⁰ This argument makes interest a central variable of policy analysis. The successful pursuit of sustainable development in EU development co-operation with Tonga therefore requires an interest for sustainable development by both parties. The interest for sustainable development in PACP countries has been established in the regional framework for sustainable development. The interest by the EU has been identified in the response strategy of EDF ten for Tonga. The cosmopolitan incentive is therefore evident in the EU co-operation framework that makes adequate provisions for the successful contribution

³¹⁶ Beitz, 17.

³¹⁷ Commission of the European Communities, "Annual Report on the European Community's Development Policy and the Implementation of External Assistance in 2006," 8.

³¹⁸ Haas.

³¹⁹ Elgström, 459.

³²⁰ Hopf, 176.

towards the sustainable development of Tonga. The EU adopts a leadership role in the international sustainable management of the environment and natural resources and integrates increasingly the concept of sustainability into its co-operation frameworks. The Union therefore does have an important role in contributing to the sustainable development of Tonga.

EU development policy for Tonga

The primary investigation of this research is how effectively the EU development policy for Tonga addresses the needs for sustainable development in the country. In the international development agenda of the EU it is increasingly evident that sustainable development provides new norms for policy and co-operation. The Cotonou Agreement has made a significant contribution towards integrating and mainstreaming the concept into development efforts. The Consensus on Development reinforces and strengthens the notion of sustainability. It makes sustainable development the primary and overarching objective of EU development policy. Furthermore, the continuous effort to mainstream sustainability and environmental concerns into EU co-operation highlights how sustainable development is providing new norms in EU development policy.

The new norms in the international agenda of EU development policy suggest that the Union makes adequate provisions to effectively contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga. It is evident in the international community and in the EU that the majority of actors agree on the appropriateness of the concept. According to Elgström, this process can lead to the reinterpretation of EU interests as well as the internalisation of sustainability into EU development policy.³²¹ It is increasingly evident that the EU integrates the concept into its development framework for ACP countries. This process is necessary for the development policy to effectively address sustainable development in Tonga. The Union's international policy agenda therefore makes significant provisions for the EU to do so.

It is found that all actors involved in the relationship of EU-PACP co-operation adopt an approach to sustainable development that is based on human well-being and the needs of the poor. In Article 9 the Cotonou Agreement adopts a human-welfare approach to sustainable

³²¹ Elgström, 460.

development that is centred on the human person who should be the main beneficiary of development.³²² The Cotonou Agreement that currently determines the EU-PACP relationship therefore adopts an approach to development that is consistent with the regional Pacific overarching objective of sustainable development. This mode of development has been identified as an appropriate measure in development co-operation. It has been established through Adam's argument that the needs of the poor should set the agenda for development.³²³ Pacific leaders and the EU development framework for the PACP both adopt this approach. This consistency provides a crucial foundation for the successful pursuit of sustainable development in the region and Tonga.

The case study shows that Tonga has a number of agendas in the national pursuit of sustainable development. It is evident that sustainability has become a primary objective in the development of the country. This is highlighted in the statement of Tonga's Department for Environment: "for Tonga, its survival both in the short-term and long-term perspectives is based on ensuring that sustainable development is pursued seriously."³²⁴ The regional and national factors involved in the successful sustainable development of Tonga have been outlined previously. It is therefore necessary in this section of this study to discuss how effectively EU development policy addresses these factors.

The effective sustainable development of PACP countries requires the harmonised development of the economic, social and environmental pillars. These require the development of trade and investment, infrastructure and private sector participation.³²⁵ They require improved health and education systems, community participation and gender equality³²⁶ and involve the sustainable management of natural resources as well as the mainstreaming of environmental concerns.³²⁷ The focus of this study is the environmental pillar of development. In PACP countries this requires the protection of natural resources, the improved institutional capacity for adequate

³²² Commission of the European Communities, *ACP-EU Partnership Agreement signed in Cotonou on 23 June 2000*, Art. 9

³²³ Adams, 9.

³²⁴ Tonga Department of Environment, *First National Report*, iii.

³²⁵ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, "The Pacific Plan: for strengthening regional cooperation and integration," 3.

³²⁶ Tadulala, *Issues Paper: Sustainable Development*.

³²⁷ Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme, *Action Plan for Managing the Environment of the Pacific Islands Region: 2005 – 2009*.

management of Pacific ecosystems and the integration of conservation activities. Most importantly, the successful pursuit of sustainable development in Pacific Island countries involves the mainstreaming of environmental factors in all development strategies.³²⁸

Despite the regional framework for sustainable development, Tonga has established a number of national objectives for implementing sustainability. Its objectives are higher living standards and improved quality of life through good governance, environmentally sustainable private-sector-led economic growth, better health and education standards and cultural development.³²⁹ Tonga's environment is under intense pressure. The adequate development of the environmental pillar therefore requires the mainstreaming of biodiversity conservation and environmental concerns.³³⁰ Furthermore, the effective sustainable development of Tonga requires the adequate management and disposal of waste, the sustainable management of natural resources and participation of local communities and civil society.³³¹ How effectively EU development policy addresses these issues determines how successfully the Union contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga.

European Development Fund 9

Tonga's CSP within EDF nine provides the EU policy framework for the country between 2002 and 2007. This framework focuses primarily on the social development of Tonga. It does not support the macroeconomic development of the country nor does it address the environmental management of Tonga. Through the support of the social sector of development, however, the CSP does address a number of goals outlined in Tonga's strategies for development. The CSP assists directly the objectives outlined in Tonga's SDP 8: to improve education standards and to improved health standards.³³² These objectives are outlined in the regional as well as Tonga's national framework for sustainable development. Therefore, EDF nine manages to address and support the social pillar in the development of Tonga. This is an important step in contributing effectively to the sustainable development of the country.

³²⁸ Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific International, *Action Strategy for Nature Conservation in the Pacific Islands Region, 2003-2007: Mainstreaming nature conservation*.

³²⁹ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 35.

³³⁰ Tonga Department of Environment, *National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan*, 69.

³³¹ *Ibid*, 73.

³³² Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 35.

The ambition of the social sector support of the CSP is to create a favourable environment for private sector economic development.³³³ This goal addresses another objective of the SDP 8: to ensure macroeconomic stability and promote sustained private-sector led economic growth.³³⁴ The policy framework of the CSP therefore manages to address the social and economic pillars of Tonga's development in a multi-dimensional manner. The policy incorporates the objectives of the regional and national strategies for sustainable development. It therefore makes an important contribution to the successful pursuit of sustainable development. The environmental pillar, however, remains a minor concern in the CSP.

The mild ecological approach to sustainable development is not evident in the CSP under EDF nine. This approach has been identified as an adequate mode of development that puts environmental concerns at the centre of the agenda. According to Overton, the mild ecological approach attempts to manage natural resources in a fashion that improves social and economic development without compromising the environment.³³⁵ The CSP integrates environmental concerns on two levels. In the objectives of the response strategy it proclaims to consider cross-cutting themes of gender issues, environmental protection and institution building in the co-operation with Tonga.³³⁶ Furthermore, it outlines in the NIP to financially support the management and disposal of solid wastes.³³⁷ The policy framework of EDF nine therefore considers environmental concerns. However, they are a minor concern and do not support a mild ecological approach to sustainable development.

In addition to Overton's mild ecological approach, Jacobs outlines six core elements in the successful implementation of sustainable development. The elements provide a set of measurable criteria for the mild ecological approach, which require: environment-economy integration, futurity, environmental protection, equity, quality of life, and participation.³³⁸ Tonga's CSP

³³³ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2002-2007," 13.

³³⁴ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 35.

³³⁵ Overton, 7.

³³⁶ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2002-2007," 16-17.

³³⁷ *Ibid*, 20.

³³⁸ Jacobs, 26-27.

within EDF does little to integrate these measures. The response strategy merely intends to consider cross-cutting themes, rather than effectively mainstreaming them. Therefore, the CSP objectives do not effectively address the environment-economy conflict. They fail to integrate equity or community participation in environmental management and do not address futurity or environmental protection effectively. Nevertheless, it cannot be dismissed that the support of social sector development in Tonga contributes to the quality of life in the country. In an environmental approach to sustainable development, the policy framework of the CSP only provides limited measures to address core elements. However, the allocation of funds to the adequate management of solid waste can make a number of contributions to the environmental management of Tonga. The CSP therefore supports, to a minor extent, the environmental pillar of Tonga's development but provides a policy framework that addresses the social and economic objectives involved in the sustainable development of the region and Tonga.

European Development Fund 10

The policy framework of EDF ten currently determines the co-operation of the EU in Tonga. It is therefore crucial to analyse the policy that determines this relationship. The effects of EDF ten, however, remain open to investigation. The EDF determines the co-operation until 2013. It has only been put into force earlier in 2008. The framework that is established in the CSP and NIP provide significant data for the longitudinal nature of this research. However, the practical side and effects of the policy remain to be seen. The two CSPs between EDF nine and ten present a number of similarities. Both papers refer to Article 177 of the Treaty establishing the EC and Article 1 of the Cotonou Agreement. The two articles provide an overall agenda for EU-Tonga development co-operation that adopts a human wellbeing approach and outlines as its goals the sustainable development and economic integration of ACP countries. This general framework does not, however, introduce a definition or strategy for the successful pursuit of sustainable development. Therefore, the concept remains vague and open to interpretation.

It appears, however, that the current policy framework makes a significant contribution towards further integrating sustainable development. As a new goal, the response strategy intends to develop a common strategic approach to poverty reduction, consistent with the objectives of

sustainable development and economic integration.³³⁹ The concept is thus integrated into the objectives of the response strategy the CSP provides within EDF ten. Furthermore, the response strategy addresses the new strategy for a strengthened partnership between the EU and PACP. This introduces new objectives of political dialogue, sustainable management of natural resources and more efficient aid delivery.³⁴⁰ In addition, the response strategy reinforces the provision of the Cotonou Agreement to strengthen the input of local initiatives.³⁴¹ It is evident in EDF ten that the concept of sustainable development is now fully integrated and reinforced in the policy framework of EU co-operation in Tonga.

A significant development is made in the response strategy that adopts in its objectives the provisions of the Consensus on Development. The CSP therefore puts the eradication of poverty in the context of sustainable development.³⁴² The Consensus provides a new bureaucratic platform that identifies sustainable development as a multi-dimensional concept. Importantly, it identifies several elements of sustainable development, including good governance and human rights as well as political, economic, social and environmental aspects.³⁴³ The Consensus therefore provides new norms for EU development co-operation that address the three pillars of sustainable development, which are outlined in the Pacific framework. The concept of sustainable development is firmly established in the Consensus. Integrating the policies of the Consensus into the objectives of the CSP can therefore significantly contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga and the PACP.

Most importantly, the policy framework of EDF ten adopts an approach that focuses on the environmental pillar of sustainable development. The CSP addresses the environmental management of the country as a strategy for the sustainable development of Tonga. The environmental focus that the response strategy adopts indicates that EU development policy understands the environmental dimension as an integral element of sustainable development. This understanding highlights the EU's recognition of environmental concerns in economic and social development and attempts to address

³³⁹ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 5.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² European Parliament, Council and Commission, Part I art 7.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

the issue adequately. The framework therefore makes an important move towards the mild ecological approach to sustainable development in Tonga. It was established previously that this approach offers an adequate strategy to contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga.

The focus for development co-operation in EDF ten makes a shift away from the social pillar of development towards the environmental pillar. The objectives of the response strategy address directly the goal of Tonga's SDP 8 to ensure environmental sustainability and disaster risk reduction.³⁴⁴ The policy framework the EU provides intends to address the objective through assisting the provision of water and sanitation, the management of solid waste, coastal protection, ecologically sustainable tourism and renewable energy.³⁴⁵ Furthermore, the response strategy intends to strengthen the mainstreaming of the cross-cutting issues: good governance, gender equality, environmental sustainability and the fight against HIV/AIDS.³⁴⁶ Within the framework of EDF ten it is therefore evident that sustainable development is an integrated objective in the co-operation between the EU and Tonga. Furthermore, the EU recognises the importance of environmental concerns in development. The Union appears to make a number of provisions for the mild ecological approach to sustainable development. The policy framework addresses the environmental pillar and seeks to achieve social and economic development without irreversible environmental impacts.

Overall, the policy framework of EDF appears to make a significant contribution towards fully integrating sustainable development into the agenda for EU development co-operation in Tonga. Furthermore, it makes adequate provisions for a mild ecological approach to sustainable development. Within EDF ten the EU addresses two more of the six core elements that have been outlined by Jacobs. The policy framework now addresses the conflict of integrating economic growth and environmental management by reinforcing the need to strengthen the mainstreaming of environmental concerns. The initiatives for economic as well as social development in the country must therefore consider environmental impacts and ensure that no irreversible damage is done to the environment. The CSP also addresses directly the requirement to protect the

³⁴⁴ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 35.

³⁴⁵ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 19.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 6.

environment. Thus, it provides significant measures for a mild ecological approach to sustainable development.

Within EDF ten the EU manages to support the environmental strategies of the Pacific region and Tonga. However, it fails to integrate any of the specific national concerns of environmental management. The CSP addresses the need to protect the environment and to mainstream conservation issues, which have been outlined in the regional and national agendas for sustainable development. Furthermore, the policy framework addresses Tonga's agenda to encourage the participation of local communities and civil society in the protection and management natural resources. The response strategy reinforces the objective of local participation. The intention to assist Tonga's management of solid waste can further contribute to the adequate development of Tonga's environmental pillar. However, the need to manage forest ecosystems, marine habitats, and biodiversity remain unaddressed in within the objectives of EDF ten.

Compared to the national policy framework for EU co-operation within EDF nine, the current framework makes a number of promising provisions for the successful integration of sustainable development. It is evident that sustainability is providing a new norm in EU development policy for Tonga. The longitudinal nature of this study shows how sustainable development has been firmly established in the objectives for development co-operation. Not only does the current framework introduce sustainable development as a new objective, it also adopts an environmental approach to the successful pursuit of sustainable development in Tonga. The current framework adopts an overarching approach that is based in the needs of the poor and the goal to reduce poverty. Furthermore, it integrates sustainable development into its objectives and provides adequate measures for a mild ecological approach to the development of Tonga. It is thus evident from the analysis that the current development policy framework contributes successfully to the sustainable development of Tonga. In answering how effectively the EU contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga, the practical allocation of funds must therefore be taken into consideration.

5.4 EU Development Co-operation: The Practical Side

The major practical implication of this study is that development policy does not necessarily result in the promised practical co-operation. Analysing the allocation of EDF funds is therefore a crucial indication of how effectively EU development policy contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga. It is evident that in the international, the regional and the national development policies for Tonga, the concept of sustainability is increasingly providing new norms for development co-operation. It can be confirmed that the concept is internalised into the current policy framework. According to Elgström, the spread of new norms in development policy can cause a change of interests and behaviours.³⁴⁷ The change in the interest and behaviour of actors is necessary to adequately implement sustainable development. It is therefore crucial to investigate whether the new norms in development policy result in adequate practices in development co-operation. In the EDF framework the most effective investigation is to analyse the allocation of funds.

The analysis of the allocation of funds between 2002 and 2013 does not suggest however that an adequate change in the practices of EU development co-operation is evident. Within EDF nine the NIP designated € 3.7 million to social sector development in the Vava'u group of islands. The funds intend to improve education, health and sanitation standards with the expected results of fully operational schools, repaired and well-equipped health facilities, and the collection and disposal of solid waste.³⁴⁸ Within the focal sectors the EDF allocated € 1,252,500 to the education sector and the same amount to the health sector. € 300,000 were earmarked for non-state actors and € 120,000 for programme management, € 50,000 were allocated towards assessment and € 25,000 to programme evaluation.³⁴⁹ The health sector financed the renovation of staff and the fencing of the hospital compound. It supplied medical and dental equipment and the renovation of the Prince Ngu hospital in Vava'u.³⁵⁰ The finances of the education sector were allocated towards the renovation of school facilities and staff quarters, whereby the Civil Society Forum of Tonga was the key implementing non-state actor at various schools. Other projects

³⁴⁷ Elgström, 459.

³⁴⁸ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 20.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

outside the focal areas received € 0.5 million for technical assistance and following the two cyclones, envelope B of EDF nine allocated a total of € 0.89 million to the repair of the Ferry MV Olovaha between Tongatapu and Vava'u.³⁵¹

In the allocation of funds within EDF nine it is evident that the support of sustainability in Tonga's development is relatively limited. This approach to development does not support the multi-dimensionality of sustainable development. The funds do, however, contribute to the social development of the country. The objectives of the response strategy of EDF nine have been met through significant funds for the education and health sector of the country. Furthermore, the co-operation has made adequate provisions to involve non-state actors in the allocation of funds within the education sector. The limited amount of EDF funding for Tonga does not allow, however, for further contributions towards other sectors of Tonga's development. By contributing to the social sector of development, the EU does support Tonga's national agenda for sustainable development. However, the extent of this support is limited by the minor amount of funds and small range of focal areas.

Sustainable development is a multi-dimensional process. It requires the adequate development of the economic, social and environmental sectors of Tonga. In Pacific Islands in particular, the environmental pillar has a significant role in providing adequate resources for economic and social development. A mild ecological approach provides operational guidelines to effectively address and integrate these issues in development co-operation. This approach is not, however, evident in the allocation of funds within EDF nine. Despite the many ambitions outlined in the response strategy, the NIP only supports a limited range of focal areas and the environmental management of the country has received no direct funds at all. Nevertheless, the NIP does support the social sector development of Tonga. In doing so, the EU co-operation does support Tonga's strategy for sustainable development. The Union's policy agenda for Tonga between 2002 and 2007 has integrated the notion of sustainable development. However, the contribution to the sustainable development of the country remained limited by the small amount of funds and focal areas. A mild ecological approach in EU development co-operation is neither manifest in the policy agenda, nor is it evident in the allocation of funds.

³⁵¹ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 16.

The policy framework of EDF ten has made a significant contribution towards integrating and internalising the concept of sustainable development in the development agenda for Tonga. More importantly, it provides new measures for a mild ecological approach by placing environmental concerns at the centre of the agenda. The longitudinal study of the policy framework reveals how sustainable development is now a key objective for EU development co-operation in Tonga. Despite the ambitions of the response strategy within EDF ten, however, the allocation of funds does not suggest a complete modification of practices towards implementing sustainable development. The current framework has only recently been enforced. Therefore, this study can only analyse the intended allocation of funds within the next five years. Nevertheless, the NIP reveals a number of findings that are relevant to answering the research question.

The focal sector of fund allocations within EDF ten is water and energy. The NIP intends to develop access to affordable renewable energy resources and increase their use. The proposed action is to supply and install renewable energy systems to reduce diesel imports and improve energy efficiency.³⁵² The implementation will be supported through a multi-country programme approach that combines efforts with other countries. The A-envelope will allocate 100 percent of € 5 million to the multi-country programme.³⁵³ The financing decision over the disbursement of funds will be made in late 2008.³⁵⁴ Despite the title of the focal sector “water and energy”, the allocation of funds appears to be entirely dedicated to the development of renewable energy resources. Through its co-operation, the EU intends to improve social and economic development and provide sustainable living conditions for all Tongans.³⁵⁵ However, the allocation of funds is now fixed into one single sector of Tonga’s development.

Similar to EDF nine, the current framework provides only a limited amount of funds. In the allocation of co-operation finances, the small range of focal sectors and to the limited amount of funds results in a loss of a multi-dimensional approach to sustainable development. EDF ten fails to support other aspects of Tonga’s development that are necessary in the sustainable

³⁵² Commission of the European Communities, “Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013,” 23.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ *Ibid* 29.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 26.

development of the country. Most importantly, the CSP is concerned with the management of natural resources in Tonga. The NIP, however, finances only the installation of renewable energy sources. It does not intend to finance the conservation of natural ecosystems or the protection of natural resources. Renewable energy has a number of potentials to decrease the pressure on Tonga's environment. However, it does not address the immediate environmental concerns outlined in the national and regional agenda for sustainable development.

EDF ten contributes to the sustainable development of Tonga only to a limited extent. The amount of € 5 million will be dispersed within the multi-country programme to implement renewable energy sources in Tonga. However, the allocation of 100 percent of the A-envelope to the programme allows for no further implications. Addressing the environmental pillar in the development of Tonga is a significant step the EU makes towards successfully contributing to the country's sustainable development. Due to the limited funds, however, it cannot be confirmed whether the new norms of the co-operation framework result in adequate co-operation. It is, on the contrary side, evident that the development policy the EU provides does not necessarily reflect the practical implications of EU co-operation on Tonga.

This result is confirmed in the findings of primary research in Fiji. During interviews with regional organisations it was found that EU development policy does not necessarily reflect co-operation practice. This finding presents a significant obstacle to the successful contribution of the EU towards the sustainable development of Tonga. It was gathered that the EU had neglected Pacific proposals for EPA negotiations. This finding has two major implications: the EU interest in Pacific contributions to the development process is limited, and EU development policy does not necessarily reflect the Union's co-operation practice. The Cotonou Agreement provides measures to involve non-state actors in the development process and to allow states to determine their development strategies in sovereignty. This policy is reinforced in Tonga's national response strategy of EDF ten. Between 2002 and 2007 the focus for EU-PACP co-operation were predominantly economic and the provisions of sustainable development were overruled by the economic objectives for development in the region. To reinforce the involvement of non-state actors is therefore crucial in EDF ten. The allocation of funds as it is outlined in Tonga's NIP of EDF ten does not, however, clearly indicate that this will be the case. At this point it can be

confirmed, however, that due to the limited amount of funds and focal areas, the EU's development co-operation in Tonga does not reflect its policy agenda.

Regional implications

The regional implications of these findings are similar to the national consequences for the sustainable development of Tonga. In all Pacific Islands the effective development assistance through the EU has to overcome the obstacles of the distance between the regions as well as the relative political and economic insignificance of Pacific Islands. The EU contributes to a limited extent to sustainability in Tonga's development. The policy framework that the EU adopts, addresses a number of aspects of the country's agenda for sustainable development. The allocation of funds, however, does not allow for a multi-dimensional or mild ecological approach to sustainable development. Pacific Islands face a number of common issues in development. These issues have been highlighted in this research and set a number of objectives in the regional agenda for sustainable development. Because Pacific Islands share common difficulties, the case study provides a number of regional implications. In its development policy the EU appears to understand the multiple issues involved in the sustainable development of Tonga. However, it supports only a small range of aspects of Tonga's agenda for sustainability. The limited amount of funds in bilateral relations between the EU and PACP countries, therefore, does not allow for a multi-dimensional support of sustainable development.

In the relationship of development co-operation between the EU and the PACP region it is evident that the EU's role remains double sided. The EU is a major development actor as well as a trading partner. In its regional co-operation it appears that these two roles can not be easily separated. It is found that in its regional co-operation the EU is perceived as a source of finances and holder of the European market. At the same time, the EU focus for regional co-operation has been the economic integration of PACP countries and the negotiations of a new trade regime. While its international agenda for development co-operation increasingly integrates the concept of sustainability into its objectives, the EU's regional framework of EDF nine does little to address sustainable development. The dismissal of Pacific proposals for EPA negotiations presents a major obstacle to the successful pursuit of sustainable development in PACP countries. It has been established, however, that the input of Pacific knowledge and expertise is essential in

EU development policy to successfully contribute to the sustainable development of Pacific Islands. The denial of Pacific contributions therefore presents a contradiction in EU development policy and hinders the establishment of effective development policy.

Recommendation for future co-operation

To contribute more effectively to the sustainable development of Tonga, the EU requires an incentive to adopt Tonga's development as its own interest. In a constructivist analysis of EU development co-operation, the interest of actors is a central.³⁵⁶ To overcome the lack of economic interests in Tonga, the EU requires a different incentive to effectively support sustainability in the country's development. A cosmopolitan interest in the sustainable development of Tonga is based on moral responsibility. The current policy framework between the EU and Tonga suggests that the EU accepts an international role that is based on the moral responsibility to sustainably manage international environmental resources.³⁵⁷ This notion puts the sustainable development of Tonga into EU interests. It is therefore necessary for the EU to adopt a moral responsibility for the development of Tonga and all PACP countries, which requires the effective contribution to sustainable development.

³⁵⁶ Hopf, 176.

³⁵⁷ Commission of the European Communities, "Kingdom of Tonga – European Community. Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme: 2008-2013," 19.

CONCLUSION

-Chapter 6-

The question that has been investigated in this research is: does EU development co-operation contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga? Analysing the correlation between Tonga's agenda for sustainable development and EU development policy provides new perspectives on how effectively the EU supports the country's sustainable development. The primary focus of this investigation is the development policy that the EU develops. Addressing Tonga's agenda for sustainability effectively is essential for the EU to contribute successfully to the sustainable development of the country. Despite the policy framework, however, this research provides an analysis of the practical implications of EU development co-operation. The allocation of funds within the EDF framework provides crucial indications of how effectively the EU manages to assist Tonga's sustainable development.

With the correct agenda, sustainable development provides an appropriate mode of development. The concept addresses current global issues of environmental degradation due to ongoing industrialisation and the growing level of international poverty. These issues are particularly relevant in Pacific Island countries, which are among the most vulnerable countries to the effects of current global concerns. It is therefore necessary for the EU as an international development actor to contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga. An adequate agenda for sustainability needs to adopt an overarching objective that is concerned with the needs of the poor and intends to improve human well-being. Additionally, a mild-ecological approach to sustainable development integrates efficiently environmental concerns in development efforts and requires the appropriate management of natural resources to increase productivity and meet basic human needs.³⁵⁸ This notion provides an adequate agenda for sustainable development in Tonga that should be pursued through EU development co-operation.

³⁵⁸ Overton, 8.

In the Union's development policy framework for ACP countries it is increasingly evident that sustainable development provides new norms for development co-operation. It is found in the international agenda for development co-operation that the majority of actors agree on the appropriateness of the concept. According to the constructivist argument, it can therefore be internalised by the EU.³⁵⁹ The Cotonou Agreement takes significant action by integrating the concept into its objectives and outlining the cross-cutting theme of environmental management. The recently signed Consensus on Development reinforces the objective of sustainable development and provides a new policy agenda for EU development co-operation that is based on poverty reduction in the context of sustainable development.³⁶⁰ Furthermore, the continuous attempt by the EU to mainstream sustainability and environmental considerations into development co-operation highlights how sustainability increasingly provides new norms. In constructivist theory this process can lead to a change in interests and behaviours of actors.³⁶¹ The Union's international policy agenda therefore provides an important basis for the successful pursuit of sustainable development.

The bilateral framework for EU development co-operation in Tonga provides further measures for the successful implementation of sustainable development. It is evident that the actors involved in the development co-operation between the EU and Tonga adopt an approach to development that is based on the needs of the poor. The regional and national agendas for sustainability adopt as an overarching objective the improvement of human well-being in Pacific Islands. The policy frameworks that the EU provides for Tonga adopt the same approach to development. The Consensus on Development reinforces the overarching objective of EU co-operation to eradicate poverty.³⁶² The current national EDF framework confirms this objective and intends to improve living conditions of all Tongans.³⁶³ The bilateral policy for EU development co-operation in Tonga therefore establishes an adequate approach to sustainable development that is based on the needs of the poor. It, thus, provides an essential requirement for the successful contribution to the sustainable development of Tonga.

³⁵⁹ Elgström, 459.

³⁶⁰ European Parliament, Council and Commission, 3.

³⁶¹ Elgström, 460.

³⁶² European Parliament, Council and Commission, 3.

³⁶³ Commission of the European Communities, "Pacific ACP – European Community. Regional Strategy Paper and Regional Indicative Programme: 2002-2007," 20.

This study shows that EU development policy addresses effectively a number of the issues involved in the regional and national objectives of sustainable development. The Pacific agenda adopts a multi-dimensional concept of sustainability that must address the economic, social and environmental pillars of development. The current economic issues that need to be addressed include trade and investment, effective infrastructure and private sector development. The social pillar requires improved health and education systems, community participation and gender equality. The environmental sector of development entails the protection of natural resources, the mainstreaming of conservation issues and improved institutional capacity. Tonga's fragile ecosystems require sustainable environmental management and the reduction of disaster risks.³⁶⁴ Increasingly, the regional and national development policy the EU provides, addresses these issues. EDF nine has supported the education and health sectors of Tonga's development and EDF ten is concerned primarily with the environmental management of the country. The bilateral policy framework therefore provides a number of measures for the successful contribution to the sustainable development of Tonga.

The current bilateral co-operation strategy, in particular, adopts adequate objectives for successful sustainable development. EDF ten establishes first measures for a mild ecological approach to sustainable development in Tonga. The framework adopts the objectives of the Consensus on Development and outlines a new strategy for EU-Pacific co-operation that is based on the sustainable management of natural resources.³⁶⁵ In the current framework of bilateral co-operation the EU addresses the environmental pillar of Tonga's development. The framework addresses the need to manage natural resources adequately and highlights the need to mainstream conservation concerns into development efforts. Furthermore, the policy framework reinforces the need to integrate non-state actors into development co-operation. The current policy for EU development co-operation in Tonga provides measures for a mild ecological approach that integrates environmental concerns into its objectives and allows for economic and social development that should have no irreversible impacts on Tonga's environment. These objectives provide an adequate policy that addresses successfully the agenda for the sustainable development of Tonga through a mild ecological approach.

³⁶⁴ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *Tonga Strategic Development Plan 8 2006/7-2008/9: Looking to the Future Building on the Past*, 35.

³⁶⁵ Commission of the European Communities, "Pacific ACP – European Community. Regional Strategy Paper and Regional Indicative Programme: 2002-2007," 6.

Different conclusions, however, are drawn from the practical implications of EU development co-operation. It can not be confirmed that the new norms of sustainable development in the policy framework result in adequate action. The continuous attempt to mainstream sustainability and environmental considerations suggests that the EU intends to practice sustainable development effectively. It has been found, however, that only a range of policies of the Cotonou regime is practiced successfully while other policies remain unaddressed. In the regional co-operation between the EU and PACP within EDF nine, the Pacific proposals for EPA negotiations have been neglected by the EU. This behaviour presents a major obstacle to effectively addressing and integrating the Pacific agenda for sustainable development in Pacific Islands. It furthermore suggests that the policies established by the EU do not necessarily result in adequate co-operation.

The financial assistance that the EU offers Tonga does not address the multiple issues involved in the sustainable development of the country. In the policy framework of EDF nine and ten, the EU understands and addresses adequately these multiple dimensions of sustainability. The allocation of finances, however, attends to only a limited range of issues. The support of social sector development within EDF nine supported the appropriate social development of the country and thus contributed to some extent to the sustainable development of Tonga. EDF ten financially supports the installation of renewable energy sources. The intended allocation of funds, however, does not address any further aspects of Tonga's environmental management. Both funding regimes support only a limited range in aspects of Tonga's agenda for sustainable development. However, the financial assistance does not suggest a mild ecological approach to development in the country. The small amount of funds and the limited range of financial support confines the effective support of Tonga's sustainable development through EU co-operation. It is therefore not evident that the multiple provisions for sustainability in EU development policy are effectively turned into practice.

To truly contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga, the EU requires an incentive and a strong interest to change its co-operation behaviour effectively. The interest of actors is a central

variable in the constructivist analysis of EU development policy.³⁶⁶ To overcome the insufficiency of economic interests in Tonga, the EU requires a different incentive to successfully support sustainability in the country's development. The cosmopolitan notion of global distributive justice provides an incentive that is appropriate in the pursuit of sustainable development. A cosmopolitan interest in the sustainable development of Tonga is based on moral responsibility. This notion is evident in the human community and has been highlighted through the rise of international human rights, especially in and through Europe. In the current co-operation framework for Tonga it is apparent that the EU accepts an international role in the management of global environmental resources.³⁶⁷ The effects of this announcement remain to be witnessed. Nevertheless, the statement suggests a notion of moral responsibility. This notion provides an incentive for the EU to effectively contribute to the sustainable development of Tonga. It turns Tonga's development into an EU interest and therefore provides an effective tool to change co-operation behaviour towards effective sustainable development. The EU needs to accept an international responsibility to contribute to global sustainable development. If such a notion was integrated as a new norm in development policy it would be in the interest of the EU to contribute more effectively to true sustainable development internationally and in Tonga.

Future Research

This research opens several paths to new investigations. Studying and analysing the relationship between the EU and the Pacific region contributes to the academic understanding of international relations and of the EU as an international development actor. These aspects require continuous academic debate. As a development actor the Union operates in bilateral as well as regional relations. Further research should therefore look at further bilateral relationships or undertake a regional investigation. This study provides a starting point for a regional exploration of the relations between the EU and the PACP. Such an investigation must not only be concerned with EU development co-operation. The economic trade relations and political dialogues between the EU and PACP present further topics for academic interest.

³⁶⁶ Hopf, 176.

³⁶⁷ Commission of the European Communities, "Pacific ACP – European Community. Regional Strategy Paper and Regional Indicative Programme: 2002-2007," 16.

Additional research methods can provide further insights to the development co-operation between the EU and Tonga. Primary research of fund allocations in Tonga will provide new information on how effectively EU development assistance supports sustainability in the country. A different perspective should analyse how Pacific leaders approach sustainable development. A series of interviews can provide new understandings of how Pacific political leaders value sustainability and how development actors intend to pursue and implement sustainable development. This type of investigation can be broadened to include several Pacific countries, which will provide a thorough understanding of the value of sustainability in Pacific development.

Within international development theory, further research will provide new perspectives on the notions of cosmopolitan theory. In current academic debate, cosmopolitanism presents a philosophical argument rather than a political theory. Nevertheless, the notion provides adequate perspectives in the international agenda for sustainable development. An investigation of the appropriateness of cosmopolitanism in international relations will provide new perspectives on the likelihood of effective cosmopolitan behaviour by development actors. Such investigations are crucial in the contemporary global concerns of environmental degradation, resource depletion, climate change and growing poverty. Investigating the notion of cosmopolitanism in international relations can therefore make an important contribution to finding adequate paths for development into the future.

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APPENDIX

ELITE INTERVIEWS QUESTIONNAIRE

Political, business and civil society elites

General Introduction

1. Could you describe the nature of your professional involvement with the EU?

International roles of the EU

2. Do you see the EU as a great power?
3. Specifically about politics, do you see the EU as a leader in international politics?

The EU and your country

4. How would you compare the importance of the EU to Fiji in relation to other prominent regions?
5. How would you describe the relationship between Fiji and Europe/the European Union (EU)?
6. In your opinion, which issues in Fiji-EU current relations have the most impact on Fiji?
7. Looking at the future, what issues should be kept in mind when Fiji is developing trade or government policy relating to the EU?
8. The EU has its Commission Delegation in Suva. How could the activities of the Delegation be of use to you and your organization?

Perception of special issues

9. What kind of risks and/or opportunities do you see for Fiji when new countries joined the EU?
10. How do you see the Euro as an international currency vis-à-vis the US dollar?

Sources of information on the EU

11. Where do you get your information about the EU?
12. Which specific media do you use to access news about the EU?

13. Do you have personal contacts within Europe (friends, business, family, travel)?
Which countries?

Final questions

14. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not important at all and 5 is very important, how would you rate the importance of the EU to Fiji in the present?
15. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not important at all and 5 is very important, how would you rate the importance of the EU to Fiji in the future?
16. When thinking about the term 'the European Union', what three thoughts come to your mind?